The Hittite Gilgamesh

Gary Beckman

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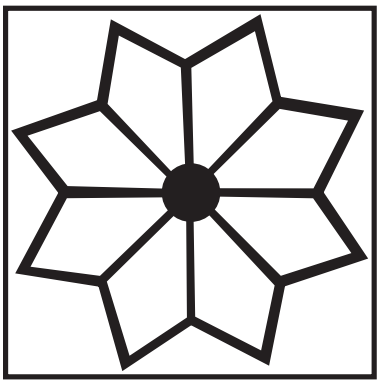

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—to the memory of Hans Gustav Güterbock

(1908–2000)

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
Register of Texts xi
Abbreviations xiii

Introduction 1

CTH 341.I—Akkadian 15

CTH 341.II—Hurrian 23

CTH 341.III—Hittite 33

Unplaced Hittite Fragments 53

Appendix: CTH 347—Atra-ḫasīs 63

Bibliography 69
Indexes to Hittite Language Texts 73

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I have also made good use of the photographs of CTH 341 and 347 posted on the Konkordanz of the Hethititologie Portal Mainz (http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php), as well as of the editions of the texts provided there by Elisabeth Rieken and her colleagues. The comments of an anonymous reader led to improvements in several areas.

Most importantly, I must acknowledge the unwavering encouragement and love of my wife, Dr. Karla Taylor, whose support over more than thirty-five years has enabled me to bring this study to a conclusion.

Ann Arbor
December 2018

REGISTER OF TEXTS

CTH 341
(with place of recovery)

I. Akkadian

1.A. KBo 32.128 [A_1] (+) 131 [A_2] (+) 130 [A_3]. George 2003: pls. 24–25 (Temple 16)
1.B. KBo 32.132. George 2003: pl. 24 (Temple 16)
1.C. KBo 32.129. George 2003: pl. 25 (Temple 16)
1.D. KBo 32.133. George 2003: pl. 25 (Temple 16)
2. KUB 4.12. George 2003: pl. 25 (unknown)
3. KUB 37.128. George 2003: pls. 26–27 (Büyükkale H)

II. Hurrian

1. KBo 51.228 (+) KUB 8.60 (+?) KUB 47.9 (+) KBo 68.145 (Temple 1)
2. KUB 8.61 + KBo 8.144 (Büyükkaya)
3. KBo 33.10 (+) KBo 19.124 + KBo 54.5 (Temple 1)
4. KUB 47.10 (unknown)
5. KUB 47.15 (unknown)
6. KUB 47.16 (unknown)
7. Takahashi Collection TC-4F05h (unknown)

III. Hittite

Tablet 1

A. KUB 8.57 [A_a] (+) KUB 17.2 [A_b] (+) KUB 8.56 [A_c] (+) KBo 26.101 [A_d] (Unterstadt)
B. KUB 8.55 [B_a] (+) KUB 33.123 [B_b] (unknown)
C. KUB 8.51 + Bo 9650 [C_a]* (+) KUB 8.53 + KUB 36.73 [C_b] (unknown)
D. KBo 10.47a–h + KBo 10.46 +? KBo 10.48 + KBo 22.93 (Temple 1) +? 410/p + KBo 10.48 + KBo 10.40 (Büyükkale K)
E. KUB 36.72 [E_a] + KUB 60.14 [E_b] (unknown)
F. HT 10 (unknown)
G. KBo 19.115 (Temple 1)
H. KBo 19.114 (Temple 1)

Tablet 2

A. KUB 23.9 + KUB 8.54 [A_a] (+)KUB 8.52 [A_b] (unknown)
B. KUB 8.58 (unknown)
C. KBo 19.117 (Temple 1)

* See Soysal 2015: 116.

Tablet 3

A. KUB 8.48 [A_a] + KBo 19.116 (+) KUB 8.49 [A_b] (Temple 1)
B. KUB 17.3 (unknown)
C. KUB 8.50 + KBo 22.91 (Temple 1)
D. KUB 33.124 (unknown)
E. KUB 8.59 (unknown)
F. KUB 36.65 (unknown)
G. KBo 54.2 (Temple 1)
H. KBo 19.118 (Temple 1)
I. KBo 10.49 (Temple 1)

Unplaced Fragments

FA. At the Sea

1. KBo 19.119 (Temple 1)
2. KBo 19.120 iii (Temple 1)

FB. Concerning Ullu

1. KUB 8.62 (unknown)
2. Bo 5700 (unknown)

FC. Miscellaneous

1. KBo 19.120 ii (Temple 1)
2. KBo 19.122 (Temple 1)
3. KBo 22.92 (Temple 1)
4. KBo 26.102 (Temple 1)
5. FsGüterbock^2 61, no. 5 (unknown)
6. KBo 60.14 (Temple 1)
7. KBo 22.94 (Temple 1)
8. KBo 45.224 (Haus am Hang)
9. KBo 19.115 (Temple 1)
10. KBo 60.327(?) (Temple 1)

KBo 19.121 does not belong with the Gilgamesh material but rather probably to the Kumarbi cycle; see *CHD* P/2, 160. For FHL 11 the Mainz Konkordanz entry reads: "Z. 2 liest Laroche als ^{d}*En-ki-d*[*u*$^{?}$], wegen des Abstandes zwischen AN und EN ist eine Lesung]-*x-an* EN KI.KA[L.BAD] (EN KARAŠ) vorzuziehen."

D. Appendix: Atraḫasīs

Ap1. Akkadian

KBo 36.26 (Temple 1)

Ap2. Hittite

1. KUB 8.63 + KBo 53.5 (Temple 1)
2. KUB 36.74 (unknown)
3. KBo 47.147 (Büyükkale M)
4. KBo 36.74 (Haus am Hang)

ABBREVIATIONS

General

ca.	circa
ch.	chapter
coll.	collated
frag(s).	fragment(s)
LeE	Left Edge
No(s).	number(s)
obv.	obverse
pl(s).	plate(s)
rev.	reverse

Bibliographical

ANET[2]	J. B. Prichard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica*
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Edited by Ignace J. Gelb[†] et al. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CBS	museum siglum of the University Museum in Philadelphia
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	*The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Edited by Hans G. Güterbock[†], Harry A. Hoffner[†] et al. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–
CHDS	Chicago Hittite Dictionary Supplements. Chicago 2011–
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CLL[2]	Melchert, H. Craig. Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon. Lexica Anatolica 2. Chapel Hill, NC, 1993.
CTH	E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971 (with supplements in *RHA* 30 [1972]: 94–133 and *RHA* 33 [1973]: 68–71; now extensively expanded and revised in the online Catalog der Texte der Hethiter of the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz: S. Košak and G. G. W. Müller, hethiter.net/: Catalog [2015-08-04], http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/)
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
Emar VI	D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Astata*. Emar 6/1–4: *Textes sumeriens et accadiens*. Paris, 1986.
FsGüterbock[2]	*Kaniššuwar: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday May 27, 1983*. Edited by H. A. Hoffner Jr. and G. Beckman. AS 23. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986

FHL	J.-M. Durand and E. Laroche. Fragments hittites du Louvre. Pp. 73–107 in *Mémorial Atatürk: Études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes*. Synthèse 10. Paris: A.D.P.F., 1982
Greengus	S. Greengus, *Old Babylonian Tablets from Ischali and Vicinity*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1979.
HED	J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Trends in Linguistics. Documentation. Berlin: de Gruyter; Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984– (volumes are referred to by the letter[s] covered in each)
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HT	L. W. King, *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1920
HW[2]	*Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*. Edited by Johannes Friedrich[†], Annelies Kammenhuber[†] et al. Indogermanische Bibliothek, zweite Reihe: Wörterbücher. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975– (volumes are referred to by the letter covered in each)
IM	museum siglum of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad
IM	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* I/II. WVDOG 28, 1919; 34, 1923.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916–1923; Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1954–
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin: Akademie, 1921–1990
KhT	S. Košak, Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln, Hethitologie-Portal Mainz. Online: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/
KZ	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
Or	*Orientalia*
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*. Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–
SB	The Twelve-Tablet Epic of Gilgamesh, edited in ch. 11 of Andrew George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
SC	siglum of the Schøyen collection
SCCNH	*Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TIM	*Texts in the Iraq Museum*
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*
UET	*Ur Excavations. Texts*
UM	tablet siglum of the University Museum, Philadelphia
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*

Notes on the Transliterations

In transliterations, an asterisk (*) indicates a reading that has been confirmed by collation of the tablet or a photograph.

^{ER} indicates an erasure.

INTRODUCTION

The Gilgamesh Tradition

From the late third millennium BCE on, the adventures of Gilgamesh were well known throughout Babylonia and Assyria, and the discovery of fragmentary Akkadian-language fragments of versions of his tale at Boğazköy (edited here), Ugarit (Arnaud 2007: 130–38; George 2007), Emar (Arnaud 1985: 328; 1987: 383–84 n. 781), and Megiddo in Palestine (Goetze and Levy 1959) demonstrates that tales of the hero's exploits had reached the periphery of the cuneiform world already in the Late Bronze Age.[1]

In addition to the manuscripts in the Hittite language recounting Gilgamesh's adventures, two Akkadian versions and fragmentary Hurrian renderings have turned up at the Hittite capital Hattusa. But there is absolutely no evidence that the hero of Uruk was familiar to the Hittite in the street. No representations of Gilgamesh are to be found in the corpus of Hittite art,[2] nor are there allusions to him or his exploits in texts outside of the literary products just listed.[3]

It seems, therefore, that the Gilgamesh tradition was imported to Hattusa solely for use in scribal instruction,[4] although it cannot absolutely be excluded that the Hittite-language text was read aloud at court for the entertainment of the king and his associates.[5] Nonetheless, as has long been recognized,[6] the material from Boğazköy has been of particular importance to modern scholars in reconstructing the epic and analyzing its development, since it documents a period in the history of the narrative's progressive restructuring and elaboration for which very few textual witnesses have yet been recovered from Mesopotamia itself. And it is this very Middle Babylonian or Kassite period to which scholarly consensus assigns the composition of the final, "canonical," version of the epic (see below).

As is well known, the tradition surrounding the figure of Gigamesh goes back to the Early Dynastic II period (ca. 2700–2500 BCE),[7] when a man of this name may actually have ruled as the fifth king of the Sumerian King List's first dynasty of Uruk (Jacobsen 1939: 88–89, iii 17–18). Already in the middle of the third millennium (Fara period) Gilgamesh makes his appearance in a list of gods (Lambert 1960a: 48), and he received offerings in pre-Sargonic Lagash (Falkenstein 1957–1971: 359) and under the Ur III state (Lambert 1960a: 47–48).

Tales featuring Gilgamesh are first known from early in the second millennium, the so-called Isin-Larsa period. These Sumerian texts—found for the most part at the old religious center of Nippur—are almost certainly copies of compositions created at the court of the Ur III kings (twenty-first century BCE), monarchs who claimed Gilgamesh as their semidivine forbear. At this stage, the tradition—so far as known to us—consisted of

1. Adapted from Beckman 2003.

2. Note only a bas-relief from Tell Halaf illustrating the attack on Huwawa (pictured in Lambert 1987: fig. 15, which is, of course, a product of the "NeoHittite" period.

3. The mention of an "(omen) of Gilgamesh" (*Š*[*A*] ˹GIŠ˺.GIM.MAŠ) in KBo 13.34 iii? 13′ (CTH 540; ed. Riemschneider 1970: 26–27) is no exception, since this text is a translation of a Mesopotamian birth omen collection. Otherwise note only the "image of Gilgamesh" (ALAM ^{d}BÌL.GA.MES) in an Akkadian-language ritual imported from Mesopotamia (KBo 36.29 iv 7′ [CTH 812], ed. Schwemer 1998: 98).

4. See Kammenhuber 1967b: 816 and cf. Beckman 1983.

5. For the possible recitation of Gilgamesh tales at Mesopotamian royal courts, see George 2003: 7 and 21.

6. Text from the Hittite version has traditionally been used to fill a gap in Tablet V of the Twelve Tablet Epic. See, for example, Schott 1958: 46–47, and the translations by E. A. Speiser, *ANET*², 82; Kovacs 1985: 40–47; and Beckman 2001.

7. For the development of the tradition, see Tigay 1982 and George 2003: 3–70.

five independent poems centering on the deeds of our hero.[8] Some of the events presented here were to become the building blocks of the later unified epic, while others would simply disappear.

Seemingly derived from oral tradition (George 2003: 20–22), the earliest Akkadian-language narratives telling Gilgamesh's story were composed in Old Babylonian (OB) times, perhaps by scribes in the service of Rim-Sin I of Larsa, or in that of Hammurapi and Samsuiluna of Babylon.[9] Unfortunately, most of these tablets are in very poor condition indeed, but the best-preserved witness (that of the "Pennsylvania" and "Yale" Tablets) makes it clear enough that the process of integrating the story elements into a single coherent narrative had already begun in this period.[10]

The known Middle Babylonian (MB) sources from sites other than Boğazköy are in even worse condition than the OB texts. The majority of these MB pieces deal with the portion of the cycle stretching from Gilgamesh's encounter with Ishtar to the death of Enkidu (see table 1).

The ancient development of the Gilgamesh Epic culminated in the Twelve Tablet Edition (henceforth SB) traditionally attributed to Sin-leqi-unninni.[11] In this work we have a magnificent *Bildungsroman* in which the hero, following Herculean efforts and abject failure, comes to accept the limitations of human existence well as the consolations that it offers.[12] It is this crystallization of the tradition that forms the basis for the translations and retellings of the epic[13] encountered today in introductory world literature courses.[14] It has also provided the stuff for modern literary-critical studies,[15] psychological interpretations,[16] and novelistic allusions and reworkings.[17]

This Twelve Tablet Epic, small portions of which are still lost,[18] is known from multiple copies held in the tablet collections of the seventh-century Assyrian king Assurbanipal at Nineveh (Kuyunjik).[19] Additional, partial, manuscripts have come from Nimrud and Assur in the north, and from Uruk and two other, unknown, sites in Babylonia.[20] The earliest witness to this recension may be a tablet from Assur (KAR 115; cf. also KAR 319 and 320), to be dated to the eighth or ninth century.[21]

8. Conveniently translated by George (1999: 141–208). Transliterations may be accessed at The Electronic Corpus of Sumerian Literature (http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/), with further bibliography listed at the site's Consolidated Bibliography of Sumerian Literature. More recent printed work includes Cavigneaux and al-Rawi 2000 and Gadotti 2014.

9. For references to the publication of the OB Akkadian cuneiform sources and studies of them, see George 2003: ch. 5.

10. Fleming and Milstein 2010 argue that the available OB material incorporates a preexisting Akkadian-language "Huwawa narrative."

11. On this figure, see Lambert 1957: 4–5 and Beaulieu 2000: 2–5. It is quite possible that the edition compiled by or ascribed to this scholar did not originally include the final tablet. See p. **00** below.

12. Two of the most thought-provoking interpretations of SB are those of Jacobsen 1976: 195–219 and Moran 1995. Both essays have been reprinted in Foster 2001: 171–207. See also Abusch 2001. All of the latter's articles on Gilgamesh have now been collected in Abusch 2015.

13. Popular English translations by cuneiformists include Gardner and Maier 1984; Foster 2001; and Kovacs 1985. Sandars 1960 is a rather free "English version" based not on the ancient texts but on earlier renderings into modern European languages. There are numerous other such second-hand renderings, several by poets, including Ferry 1992; Mason 2003; Mitchell 2006; and Lombardo 2019.

14. Damrosch 2003, and in more detail 2006, presents an entertaining account of the rediscovery of SB and examines its place in world literature.

15. Many of these have heen collected in Meier 1997. On the modern reception of reception of SB, see Ziolkowski 2011.

16. Schneider 1967; R. S. Klinger 1991; Abusch 1993a, 1993b.

17. Robert Silverberg's novel *Gilgamesh the King* (1985) is described on its cover as "the towering saga of power, passion, and the quest for immortality." And who could forget Gil Gamesh, anti-hero of Philip Roth's *The Great American Novel* (1973)?

18. The latest substantial addition to the text (Al-Rawi and George 2014) restores the arrival of Gilgamesh and Enkidu at the Cedar Forest in Tablet V. In addition to filling out many broken lines, this new piece contributes around 20 lines previously totally absent (Al-Rawi and George 2014: 74). George (1999: xxviii) estimated that around 575 lines of an original 3000 or so were still completely lacking. This loss should now be placed at ca. 550 lines.

19. On this "library," see Pedersén 1998: 158–65.

20. George 2003 provides the details of the available manuscripts in his edition of SB (2003: ch. 11).

21. So Böhl 1957–1971: 367. A later manuscript from Assur is published by Maul 1999.

Such, in a nutshell, was the evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic. At some point during the second half of the second millennium BCE a text approximating the standard, or canonical[22] form of the narrative came into being (see Lambert 1960b: 13–14). Considerations of cast of characters[23] and onomastics,[24] as well as general cultural-historical factors (see von Soden 1953: 23), point to a date sometime in the Kassite era, which came to an end ca. 1150 BCE. Greater precision is difficult to achieve because we have only two Kassite period Gilgamesh manuscripts from Babylonia (from Ur and Nippur), and both are tiny.

However, a fairly recently published fragment from thirteenth-century Ugarit (RS 94.2066; Arnaud 2007: 130–34, pls. XIX–XX),[25] identified by its editor as a scholarly exercise, is determinative for this question:

Gilgamesh Prologue from Ugarit (Akkadian)

§1 The one who saw the deep—the foundations of the land,
who knew the proper ways, was wise in all things.
§2 Gilgamesh, who saw the deep—the foundations of the land,
who knew the proper ways, was wise in all things.
§3 He examined every sanctuary.
He knew the sum of all wisdom.
He who trod the distant path of Uttur-napushti,
he crossed the Ocean, the great sea, to where Shamash emerges.
He brought a report from before the Deluge.
He walked a distant path, and was weary and distressed.
Stelae have been erected (describing) all his travails.
§4 Gilgamesh does not allow the young bride to go to her husband.
He is their wild bull; they are his cows.
Ishtar unceasingly hears their lamentations.
A pained cry reaches the heaven of Anu.
Supreme among illustrious kings, possessor of (an impressive) stature,
hero, offspring of Uruk, raging(?) bull,
Gilgamesh, renowned of stature,
hero, offspring of Uruk, goring bull.
§5 "Go up, O Gilgamesh, upon the wall of Uruk; walk around!
Examine the foundation, inspect the brickwork!
Open the box of cedar,
release its clasp of bronze!
Take up and read aloud the tablet of lapis lazuli:
'Is its brickwork not of baked brick?
Did the seven sages not lay its foundations?
One square mile is city, one square mile is orchards, one square mile is clay pit.

22. As George (2003: 30–31) stresses, competing versions of the narrative were still circulating at the close of the second millennium and are even represented by several Neo-Assyrian fragments.

23. With the exception of the enigmatic reference to the "Gate of Marduk" (KÁ.GAL ^{d}AMAR.UTU) in the fragmentary line 167 of SB III, neither Marduk nor Aššur, paramount gods of the earlier first millennium, appear here.

24. The personal designation Ur-shanabi may reflect the revived interest for things Sumerian in the later seeond millennium, and this period of Hurrian prosperity and influence is also a most reasonable time to place the borrowing of the alewife's name Shiduri. Finally, *Gebetsnamen* like Sin-leqi-unninni are also characteristic of Kassite times (see Stamm 1939: 167).

25. Reedition by George 2007; see transliteration and discussion there.

Three and one-half square miles are the measure of Uruk.'"
Gilgamesh wrestled in turn with fifty comrades,
daily finishing off the young men.
Through inappropriate behavior he vexed the young men of Uruk.
§6 The locks of his hair were as abundant as (the ears of) the goddess of grain.
His teeth gleamed like the rising sun.
He was graced with hair like blue wool.
His form was eleven cubits (in height),
the breadth of his breast was four cubits.
His foot was three cubits, his leg a reed-length,
three cubits the beard(?) of his cheeks.
…

Similarities with the initial lines of Tablet I of SB are immediately apparent. Most significantly, these include reference to the tablet box in which the epic would be preserved and the injunction to ascend the walls of Uruk, which constitutes the first portion of the framing narrative to be completed by Gilgamesh's later invitation in Tablet XI to Ur-Shanabi to climb up the city's fortifications. This indicates not only that the Ugarit text was derived from (a forerunner to) SB,[26] but that the latter had acquired all of its essential features by the middle of the thirteenth century BCE. What was the situation of the Gilgamesh tradition in second-millennium Anatolia?

Gilgamesh in Anatolia

A century of excavation at the Hittite capital has yielded more textual sources for Gilgamesh than are known from all other Late Bronze Age sites combined.[27] Fragments of two separate Akkadian-language recensions have come to light at Boğazköy. The first (I.2) was composed in the local variety of peripheral Akkadian and is to be dated to the empire period, probably to the thirteenth century. The second, more recently discovered (I.1), is written in an early fourteenth-century Boğazköy hand ("Middle Hittite," so Wilhelm 1988: 116–21), but does not display the characteristics of Hittite Akkadian. In this version, the text was apparently distributed over three tablets.

The Hurrian-language texts (II.1–7) present considerable difficulties. Not only is the Hurrian tongue still poorly understood, but each of the more substantial recovered pieces is broken precisely down the middle of a column. Thus the recognition of story elements is based only upon the presence of personal names and of particular lexemes. Two of the Hurrian texts may belong to the fourteenth century (II.1 and II.3), and two (II.2 and II.4) are definitely of thirteenth-century date (II.2). The remaining pieces are too small to allow a secure judgment. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this group is the colophon (II.2): "Tablet 4 of Huwawa; unfinished," indicating both the substantial length of the work and a focus on the monster, who was, after all, a denizen of the Hurrians' own Syrian neighborhood.

We come now to the Hittite-language texts. All of these fragments show New Hittite script, indicating a date in the mid-fourteenth century or later, and a fair number were inscribed in the Late Hittite hand of the thirteenth century. Based on the preservation of the upper left corners of the obverse of three tablets, I have

26. George (2007: 245–46) sees the textual corruptions of the Ugarit tablet and its jumbled order of many of the lines over against SB as evidence that the exercise was written by a nonnative speaker of Akkadian working from faulty memory—either his own or that of a singer.

27. The editorial history of the texts from Anatolia presented here is given before the respective transliterations. Further literature is listed at the Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln of the Hethitologie Portal Mainz (http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php) sub CTH 341. There too one will find the on-line edition of the Hittite-language material (CTH 341.III) by E. Rieken et al. (posted August 2009), from which I have profited greatly.

reconstructed an edition in three tablets, although it is clear from the placement of text on duplicates that the material was not distributed in a standardized manner in all manuscripts. In contrast, each copy of a tablet of the SB edition begins and ends with the same line of text (Tigay 1982: 138 n. 37). As Otten (1958: 94) has shown, at least four exemplars of Tablet 1 have been preserved.[28] Tablet 2 is poorly represented, with only three witnesses, which have been assigned to this tablet simply because the events they narrate—as known from the Mesopotamian sources—fall between those of our Tablets 1 and 3. The text of Tablet 3 has been reconstructed from nine manuscripts, most of which are small and noncontiguous fragments and show no distinctive orthography. As for the unplaced fragments (FA, FB, and FC), I have made a number of suggestions as to where several of them might be accommodated within Tablet 3 (see below).

The Hittite author or adapter has made several major changes to the narrative as known from the OB and contemporary MB Akkadian sources. First, in the Mesopotamian texts the hero is said to be of mixed parentage, fruit of the union of Lugalbanda, king of Uruk, and the goddess Ninsun.[29] But the Hittite Gilgamesh is not born at all, but created—and then by a committee! His semidivine nature has been translated into extraordinary physical proportions:

> The hero [Ea(?) fashioned] the frame of the creature Gilgamesh. [The great gods] fashioned the frame of Gilgamesh. The Sun-god of Heaven lent him [manliness]. The Storm-god lent him heroic qualities. The great gods [created] Gilgamesh: His body was eleven cubits [in height]; his breast was nine [spans] in breadth; his beard(?) was three [cubits(?)] in length. (III.1 §2)

We cannot help but note the participation here of the Sun-god and the Storm-god, not deities usually concerned with creation in Sumer or Babylonia. This must be a reflection of the importance of these particular gods in the Hittite pantheon. Yet later on in the saga, when Enkidu dreams of the divine assembly (III.3 §1), he mentions the presence there of Anu, Enlil, Ea, and the Sungod. This is the group we would expect to find at an early Mesopotamian divine meeting.[30] In this instance the source material has not been modified to accommodate Hittite conceptions.

Another difference is that, for the Hittite writer, Uruk is not Gilgamesh's hometown. Rather, the hero takes up residence and rules in the city only after a period of aimless roving: "He wandered around all the lands. He came to the city of Uruk and he [settled] down. Then every day he overpowered the [young] men of Uruk" (III.1 §3). Furthermore, in sharp contrast to the great attention paid to the walls of Uruk in SB, the Hittite recension does not even mention the city's fortifications.

On the other hand, note the interest shown by the Hittite author in the Cedar Forest, scene of the struggle between the protagonist and the forest's guardian, a location to which he refers elsewhere as the "Mountain of Huwawa":

> [And when] they arrived […] in the heart of the mountains, they [looked at(?)] the mountains and stared at the cedars. [And] Ḫuwawa stared down [at them from …], (saying to himself), "Seeing that [they have reached] the place of the god, have they finished [cutting down …] the god's cedars?" [Then Enkidu] and Gilgamesh said to one another, "[The deity … has …] these inhospitable mountains and has made the mountains thick [with cedars. They] are covered in brambles(?), [so that it is not possible for a mortal] to cross. […] hold the […] limbs of the cedars, and [they are] within the mountains […]. (III.1 §16)

This shift in geographic focus from southern Mesopotamia to the Amanus or Taurus Mountains is undoubtedly due to the fact that the latter were located in the later Hittite sphere of influence.[31] Similarly, the Mala River,

28. III.1.B, C, D, and E all preserve §11.
29. ^{d}NIN.SÚN = "The Lady Cow."
30. See the texts excerpted in Jacobsen 1970.
31. The location of the Cedar Forest itself moved over the centuries even in the Mesopotamian tradition; it was originally conceived of as lying to the east of Sumer. See Hansman 1976; Steiner 1996; and Klein and Abraham 2000.

which is to be identified as the middle to upper Euphrates or one of its tributaries (del Monte and Tischler 1978: 537), twice appears as a landmark in the Hittite text (III.1 §15, III.2 §2). Needless to say, this body of water is not mentioned in any other of the Gilgamesh sources.

If my interpretation of *appan arḫa* in III.1 §10 is correct,[32] Hittite incomprehension of an alien culture seems to account for slightly divergent depictions of Gilgamesh's attentions toward the virgins of Uruk. The Pennsylvania Tablet relates, "He will couple with the wife-to-be, / he first of all, the bridegroom after. / By divine consent it is so ordained: / when his navel-cord was cut, for him she was destined" (George 2003: 106, lines 159–162). This deflowering is hardly illicit; it is divinely sanctioned. But the Hittite text says, "[When a woman] is given in marriage to a young man, before [her husband] has yet drawn near to her, [they] discretely [take(?) that woman] to Gilgamesh." The Anatolian writer here displays his ignorance of the putative *droit de seigneur* exercised by the Sumerian king—possibly itself a relic of the practice of sacred marriage[33]—and assumes that the actions of Gilgamesh were illegitimate and called for concealment.

The Place of the Hittite Gilgamesh in the Tradition

I now turn to a systematic comparison of the structure of the Hittite-language Gilgamesh text with that of SB by considering the story elements absent from one or the other source. I begin with the plusses of the late version over against the Hittite.[34] See table 1.[35]

Key to Table 1

Sources

OB
1. Larsa? (Penn-Yale tablets)
2. Sippar? (Meissner + Millard frag.)
3. Harmal (*TIM* 9, 45)
4. Ischali (Greengus, No. 277)
5. Nippur? (UM 29-13-570)
6. Nippur (IM 58451)
7. Schøyen 1 (SC 265215)
8. Schøyen 2 (SC 3025)

MB
1. Ur (*UET* 6, 394)
2. Nippur exercises (2N-T79, 2N-T75, CBS 14167, UM 29-16-606)
3. Megiddo (*Atiqot* 2, 121–28)
4. Emar (*Emar* VI, 781–82)
5. Ugarit (*AuOr* 25, 237–54)

Story Element

bold = present only in late version (SB)
bracketed = present only in Hittite version
X = present
O = definitely absent (Hittite version only)
? = perhaps lost in break (Hittite version only)

32. See below, pp. 41–42.

33. It remains uncertain whether this had ever been an actual human religious practice in Sumer or Babylonia. Perhaps it was rather a metaphorical description of the relationship between a king and a patron goddess or simply a mythical activity attributed to early rulers; see von Soden 1981; Sallaberger 1999: 155–56; and Nissinen 2001: 93–95. In any event, the ruler would have been following his prerogative, with no need for secrecy as in the Hittite account.

34. See already Otten 1957–1971.

35. For more detail on the provenance and publication of the material, see the introductions to the respective treatments in George 2003.

Table 1. Distribution of motifs in Gilgamesh sources

Story Element	SB	OB								MB					Boğazköy			
	XII Tblt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	Akk	Boğ Akk	Hurr	Hitt
1. Prologue	X	[X]												X				O
2. Description of Gilgamesh	X													X				X
3. Oppression of Uruk	X													X				X
4. Complaint of populace	X																	O
5. Creation of Enkidu	X										X							X
6. Gilgamesh and hunter	X																	X
7. Harlot and Enkidu	X	X													X			X
8. Civilizing of Enkidu	X	X													X			X
9. Report of Gilgamesh's acts	X	X																X
10. Gilgamesh's dreams, I	X	X																O
11. Arrival of Enkidu; Combat	X	X													X?			X
12. Planning of expedition	X	X													X			X
13. Consultation with elders	X	X													X			O
14. Adoption of Enkidu	X																	O
15. Consultation with assembly	X																	X
16. Journey to Cedar Forest	X							X										X
17. Gilgamesh's dreams, II	X			X			X		X						X	X		O
18. Entrance to Cedar Forest	X																X?	X
19. Reassurance by Sun-god	X																	X
20. Encouragement by Gilgamesh	X					X?			X									?
21. Challenge by Ḫuwawa	X																	X
22. Awe at Cedar Forest	X																	X
23. Encouragement by Enkidu	X			X	X									X				X
24. Combat with Ḫuwawa	X																X	X
25. Aid of Sun-god	X										X							X
26. Ḫuwawa's plea	X													X	X			X
27. Enkidu's rejoinder	X														X			X
28. Killing of Ḫuwawa	X				X													X
29. Gift for Enlil	X																	X
30. Encounter with Ishtar	X												X			X	X	X
31. Bull of Heaven	X												X			X	X?	X
32. Return to Uruk, I	X																	X?
33. Enkidu's dream	X											X			X			X
34. Enkidu's curses & blessings	X									X								?
35. Death of Enkidu	X											X						X
36. Funeral of Enkidu	X																	O
37. Grief of Gilgamesh	X																	X
38.Scorpion-men; passage	X																	O
[39. Visit to the Sea]																		X
[40. Meeting with Moon-god]																		X
41. Siduri the barmaid	X		X														X	X
42. Ur-shanabi the boatman	X		X															X
43. Crossing the sea	X																	X
44. Uta-napishtim "the distant"	X																X	X
45. Deluge narrative	X																	O
46. Gilgamesh's trial	X																	O
47. Plant of life	X																	O
48. Return to Uruk, II	X																	O
49. Enkidu in netherworld	X																	O

Element No. 1: Strictly speaking, the Prologue is present only in the late text and now in MB 5, although the "Surpassing all [kings]" included in the colophon of the OB Pennsylvania Tablet (OB 1) implies that the composition of which it forms a part also began with a hymnic introduction.[36] And indeed one might argue that the Hittite recension does contain a prologue, albeit a very short one. It begins: "[Of Gilgamesh], the hero, [I will sing his praises …]" (III.1.A §1), while one manuscript of Tablet 3 (III.3A) bears the colophon "Third(!) tablet of the Song of Gilgamesh." Although the text is in fact written in prose,[37] the Hittite Gilgamesh thus joins several constituents of the Hittite-language Kumarbi cycle in being termed a "song" or "lay" (SÌR; see Hoffner 1988: 143 n. 2, 146–47).

Element No. 4: The Hittite version lacks a complaint by Uruk's populace about their suffering under Gilgamesh's tyranny, but such an appeal is implied by the citation of the king's continual overpowering of the young men as the motivation for the Mother-goddess in fashioning Enkidu.

Element No. 10: The Hittite text ignores Gilgamesh's dreams anticipating the imminent arrival of Enkidu in Uruk. This may be due to the complete absence from the Boğazköy material of his mother Ninsun, to whom he relates these visions in SB. But since the dreams are also present in the OB Pennsylvania Tablet, it is more likely that the Hittite redactor eliminated them from his composition.

Element No. 13: Since a consultation with the elders of Uruk is found in the older Akkadian text from Boğazköy (I.1), this element was also probably excised by the Hittite-language editor, who streamlined the preliminaries to Gilgamesh's expedition by including only one discussion with local authorities, that with the fighting men. This is consonant with his general abridgement of events in the Sumerian city.

Element No. 14: The adoption of Enkidu by Ninsun is found only in SB, the sole text to feature the mother of Gilgamesh as an active character.

Element No. 17: The omission from the Hittite-language text of Gilgamesh's dreams foretelling the conflict with Huwawa and the aid of the Sungod is puzzling, since this story element is found in both Akkadian versions from Boğazköy.

Element No. 20: The encouragement of a disheartened Enkidu by Gilgamesh is most likely to be recognized in mutilated passages in both OB 5 (George 1999: 115–16) and the Hittite recension.

Element No. 21: The formal challenge to Gilgamesh and Enkidu by Huwawa before their battle reflects a familiar topos in Hittite myths of the empire period. Compare, for example, the taunting of the Storm-god by the stone monster Ullikummi:

> "What can I say to you Teššub? I held [counsel(?)], and before my mind I lined up wisdom like (a string of) bead(s) as follows: I will go up to heaven to kingship. I will take to myself Kummiya, [the gods'] holy temples, and the *kuntarras*-shrines. I will scatter the gods down from the sky like flour."
>
> (Hoffner 1990: 60, §69)

The taunt here features the Dark Earth, a familiar element from Hittite mythological texts (Oettinger 1989–90):

> [Huwawa] said to them, "[I will …] you up, and I will carry you up to heaven! I will smash you on the skull, and I will bring you [down] to the Dark [Earth]!" (III.1 §20)

Nonetheless, there is a Mesopotamian parallel in SB V (128–32)[38] (Maul 2007: 49–50), although the forest guardian does not address his interlopers directly:

36. This was first seen by A. Schaffer *apud* Wiseman 1975: 158 n. 22. On the possible implications of this for the history of the Akkadian epic, see Fleming and Milstein 2010.

37. This view is also held by Weeden 2013: 77. On the problems involved in recognizing Hittite poetry, see Carruba 1988: 67–70 and Kloekhorst 2011, with reference to further literature.

38. These lines are not in George's edition, but come from an unpublished tablet from Assur, inaccessible to me. My rendering is simply based on Maul's German. I am indebted to an anonymous reader for this information.

"I will lift them up to the heights
and therefore I wish to climb up high to heaven.
I will then strike the ground
so that they go down to the subterranean waters."[39]
He lifted them to the heights, but heaven was distant.
He struck th*e* ground, but the limestone[40] resisted him.

Element No. 32: A return to Uruk should probably be restored in the Hittite text, either between §1 and §2′ of Tablet 2 or before §1 of Tablet 3, since story elements Nos. 33 and 35, included in this recension, are seemingly set in that town.

Element No. 34: It is uncertain whether Enkidu's curses and blessings of the hunter and harlot were originally present in the Hittite edition. My reconstruction of the text includes a gap that might accommodate them, between §5′ and §6′ of Tablet 3.

Elements Nos. 36 and 38: The funeral of Enkidu and Gilgamesh's encounter with the Scorpion-people are definitely present only in SB.

Element No. 45: While it is clear that in the Hittite edition, as in OB 2, Gilgamesh travels to visit Uta-napishtim (Ullu in the Hittite text; see below), there is no indication that a narrative of the great flood itself was included in any of the *compositions* from the Hittite capital.[41] Of course, the immortality awarded to the primeval hero upon surviving the Deluge was the source of his attraction for Gilgamesh,[42] so the event must have already been added to the *traditions* surrounding Gilgamesh.

The name of the protagonist in the fragmentary account of the Deluge recovered at Boğazköy (CTH 347; see Appendix) is Atram-hasi(s) (Ap1.1, Ap2.1) or Watara-hasis (Ap2.3), as in the Old Babylonian version (Lambert and Millard 1969).

Elements Nos. 44 and 46–48: These units, which treat Gilgamesh's confrontation with the only human being ever to be granted immortality,[43] his own challenge of death in the form of sleep, his failure in this contest, and his second return to Uruk,[44] are found only in SB. The same holds true for *Element No. 49*, Enkidu's visit to the netherworld, a literal translation of part of one of the Sumerian Gilgamesh tales. Of course, this twelfth tablet is generally regarded as a very late and awkward addition to the first-millennium text.[45]

I turn now to the plusses of the Hittite version as compared to SB:

Element No. 39: This element is found only in the Hittite version and recounts Gilgamesh's visit to the personified Sea in the course of his wanderings:

> But [when] Gilgamesh [arrived] at the Sea, he bowed down to the Sea, [and said to the Sea], "Long may you live, O Great [Sea, and long may] the minions who belong [to you] live!" The Sea cursed Gilgamesh, […], and the Fate-deities. (III.3 §9′)

Furthermore, the vizier of the Sea, the Hurrian god Impaluri, is attested in an unplaced fragment (FA.2). These additions may be explained by the relatively greater importance that the Anatolians—or at least their vassals in

39. Presumably *apsu*.
40. Reading IM 76985 ii 132 (George 2003: 608, pl. 74): *pi-*⌜*i*⌝*-*[*l*]*u*.
41. George (2003: 18) writes: "[T]here was (and still is) no evidence for the incorporation of the flood story in any second-millennium text of the Babylonian Gilgameš."
42. The bestowal of eternal life upon Ullu is featured in another Boğazköy source (FB).
43. This meeting is now also alluded to in the exercise tablet from Ugarit (MB 5) discussed above.
44. Although this is implied in MB 5, which refers to the hero's bringing wisdom and experience back to his hometown.
45. So Tigay 1982: 105–7 and Jacobsen 1976: 214–15.

Kizzuwatna and Syria[46]—as compared to the people of Mesopotamia, attached to the sea, both as a body of water and as a mythological character (see Wilhelm 1993–1997; J. Klinger 2000; and Vigo 2012).

Finally, there is a second plus in the Hittite edition: *Element No. 40*, the encounter of Gilgamesh with the Moon God in the steppe:

> […] the heroic Moon-god [said to Gilgamesh(?)], "Go and [make] these two [lions] which you slew into two images for me! Transport them into the city! Take them into the temple of the Moon-god!" (III.3 §11′)

According to the Hittite text, the lions alluded to here had been dispatched by Gilgamesh during his earlier travels in the wilderness (III.3 §7′). This episode may have some connection to the mention of a lion in an obscure context in SB (X 34).

In sum, the Hittite-language recension bears many similarities to SB, the sole Mesopotamian text full enough to allow a meaningful consideration of its structure. Only a few story elements found in the latter are certainly absent from the former: Nos. 10, 13, 14, 17, 36, 38, and 45–49. Where the respective states of preservation permit assessment, the episodes follow one another in the same order in the two recensions. Plusses in the Hittite may easily be explained as nods to local Anatolian tastes and interests, much like the shift of geographic emphasis from Uruk to the Cedar Forest considered earlier.[47]

It is just not credible that the concise Hittite-language edition represents either a direct reflection of oral tradition[48] or an independent composition not based in some way on earlier Akkadian (and Hurrian?) texts.[49] Rather, the Hittite editor/translator must have begun with an Akkadian *Vorlage* similar to the work generally credited to Sin-leqi-unninni, but lacking elements Nos. 14, 36, 38, and 45–49. In contrast, as we have already seen, the Ugarit exercise tablet (MB 5) presupposes familiarity with a text much closer to SB.[50]

Although the discovery of the Ugarit exercise tablet calls for caution, I posit that the final redactor of SB was responsible for: 1) alloting an active role to the goddess Ninsun, 2) adapting the description of Enkidu's lavish funeral,[51] 3) inventing the scorpion-men and the fabulous passage to the sea, and possibly 4) appending the translation of the Sumerian *Märchen* "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World" as the concluding tablet (cf. George 2003: 32–33). For its part, the Hittite recension appears to have concluded with Ullu's pointing out the lesson of his own experience for Gilgamesh: Who would summon the divine assembly to grant life everlasting to the latter?[52]

46. See Loretz 2015 and Beckman 2015 for rites from this region featuring the sea and recovered from the Boğazköy archives.

47. Otten (1960: 143) is certainly correct when he writes, "Damit ist die hethitische Version entschieden kürzer, indem anscheinend alle Episoden mit stärkerem [mesopotamischen] Lokalkolorit fortgelassen sind."

48. Cf. Cooper 1992 and Bachvarova 2016: 63–72. I am not convinced that the variations in the wording of the various Boğazköy Gilgamesh manuscripts collected by the latter author demonstrate "the flexibility proper to oral tradition" (p. 66), but a full study of this question cannot be undertaken here.

49. George (2003: 22) posits the existence of more than one version of Gilgamesh in OB times (cf. also Fleming and Milstein 2010) and recognizes a "proliferation of different versions" in the Late Bronze Age (2003: 27).

50. Due to the accidents of preservation, it is not (yet?) possible to draw a clear picture of the distribution of the intellectual products of Babylonia and Assyria around the periphery of the cuneiform world. For the inventories of Mesopotamian literary compositions recovered from sites such as Emar and Ugarit, see Kämmerer 1998; Rutz 2013; Viano 2016. With particular reference to our composition, see also Anthonioz 2012.

51. The inspiration here was undoubtedly the description of Gilgamesh's own funeral in the Sumerian tale "The Death of Gilgamesh," for a description of which see George 2003: 14–17.

52. Note the fragmentary mention of *tuliya-*, "assembly," in iv 13′ and 17′ of III.C (§21′), and cf. SB Tablet XI 207–208: "But now, who will bring the gods to assembly for you, / so you can find the life you search for?" (George 2003: 716–17). The space available between §20′ and §21′ of III.C does not seem sufficient to accommodate a full narration of the Deluge narrative.

Table 2A. Orthography of character names in Gilgamesh sources. Numerals following names refer to sources as listed in key to table 1.

Sumerian	**OB**	**MB**	**Late**
1. ^{d}Bìl(^{GIŠ}BÍL)-ga-mes	^{d}GIŠ	^{d}*Bìl-ga-mes* (2, 5) [… -*g*]*a-mes* (4) ^{m}GIM.MAŠ (3)	^{d}GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ
2. En-ki-du$_{10}$	^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{10}$ ^{d}*En* (8)	^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{10}$ (1, 2) ^{m}*En-ki-du* (3) ^{d}*En-ki-dù* (5)	^{d}*En-ki-dù*
3. $^{(d)}$Ḫu-wa-wa	^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa*, *Ḫu-wa-wa* (4), ^{d}*Ḫu*(-*wa*) (8)	^{d}*Ḫu-ba-bu/bi/ba* (5)	^{d}*Ḫum-ba-ba*
4. —	—	*ṣayyādu*	*ṣayyādu*
5. —	*ḫarimtum*, *šamkat*	KAR.KID (1) *šamḫatu* (1)	^{f}Šamḫat
6. —	*sabītum* (2)	—	^{f}Siduri
7. —	Sursunabu (2)	—	^{m}Ur-40
8. Zi-u$_4$-sud-rá	*Ú-ta-na-iš-tim* (2)	*Ú-tu-ur-na-pu-uš-ti* (5)	^{m}UD.ZI(-*tim*), Atra-ḫasīs
9. ^{d}Inanna	—	[^{d}]*Iš*$_8$-*tár* (4)	^{d}*Iš-tar*, ^{d}*Iš*$_8$-*tár*
10. ^{d}Utu	^{d}UTU	—	^{d}UTU, ^{d}*Šá-maš*

The Names of the Characters

I will now consider the orthography of the names of the characters in the epic (see George 2003: 71–90, 138–55), and particularly their manifestations in the sources from Boğazköy (see tables 2A and 2B).[53]

No. 1: The name of Gilgamesh himself shows a variety of spellings in third-millennium documents, quite possibly representing divergent pronunciations, but the normal manner of rendering his name in the Sumerian-language texts is ^{d}*Bìl*(^{GIŠ}BÍL)-*ga-mes*.[54] The standard form in Old Babylonian versions of the cycle is ^{d}GIŠ, an abbreviation of the initial grapheme in the older literary writing. This sign group is retained at the beginning of most later spellings, perhaps indicating a restricted value bil$_x$ or even gil$_x$[55] for the sequence DINGIR.GIŠ. I have yet to arrive at an explanation for the MB Megiddo writing ^{m}GIM.MAŠ: How is the syllable /gil/ repre-

53. For textual attestations of Hittite proper names, see the indexes.

54. These have been collected by Parpola 1998: 316.

55. The earliest certain evidence for a velar pronunciation of the initial consonant is from the Old Babylonian omen text YOS 10.42 i 2: ^{d}*Ge-el-ga*, although Rubio 2012: 3–9 argues that BÍL (NE-šeššig) was already likely pronounced /gil/ in this proper name.

Table 2B. Orthography of character names at Boğazköy

Akkadian	Boğazköy Akk.	Hurrian	Hittite
1. ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ, ^{d}GÍN.MAŠ	^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ	^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ, ^{d}*Gal-ga-mi-iš*, ^{d}*Bíl-ga-mes*	^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ(-*uš/un*), ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ(-*un*)
2. ^{d}*En-ki-dù*, ^{d}*En-ki-du*	^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$	^{d}*En-ki-ta*(-)	^{d}*En-ki-du*(-), ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$(-), ^{d}*En-ki-ta*(-)
3. ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa*	^{d}*Ḫ*[*u-* …]	^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa*(-*in*)	^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa*(-*iš/-in*)
4. —	—	—	^{m}*Ša-an-ga-šu*(-)
5. —	—	—	^{MUNUS}KAR.KID, ^{f}*Ša-an-ḫa-tu*(-)
6. —	—	*Ši-du-ur-ri*(-), ^{d}*Na-aḫ-ma-zu*^{l}*-le-el*	^{f}*Zi-du-ri-iš*, ^{f} *Na-aḫ-mi-zu-le-en*
7. —	—	—	^{m}(*U*)*-ur-ša-na-bi*(-*iš*), ^{d}*Ur-ša-na-bi* (1x)
8. —	—	*Ú-ul-lu-uš*, ^{m}*Ul-lu-u*$^{?}$-[…]	^{d}*Ul-lu*(-*uš*), ^{d}*Ul-lu-ya*
9. —	^{d}*Iš*$_8$*-tár*	^{d}*IŠ*$_8$*-TÁR-ga*	^{d}*IŠ*$_8$*-TÁR*(-*iš*)
10. —	—	—	^{d}UTU *ŠA-ME-E*/AN-*E*

sented here? But note that this spelling is paralleled by ^{d}GÍN.MAŠ in the older Akkadian text at Boğazköy. This latter writing, as well as ^{d}GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ of first-millennium orthography, should probably be transcribed with the reading GÍM for the third sign (so Heidel 1952: 140–41; cf. George 2003: 83), thus *B/Gil-gím-maš.* Compare here the Boğazköy Hurrian, Akkadian, and Hittite spelling ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ. Perhaps the choice of GÍN reflects a clever play on its alternate value TÙN = *pāšu,* alluding to the axe of which Gilgamesh dreams.[56]

The odd spelling ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ is found only in several Hittite-language pieces (see George 2003: 84 n. 74). Since PAN differs from GIM in New Hittite script only in the absence of a final vertical wedge (see HZL 118, 165), this is obviously a variant writing of the third sign in the ideographically expressed name.[57]

56. SB I, 278, 289; see already Böhl 1957–1971: 370. As explicated by Ninsun, this implement is a harbinger of Enkidu.

57. Examination of the copy of the Megiddo fragment (Goetze and Levy 1959: 122) shows that the second sign in "^{m}GIM.MAŠ" (e.g., rev. 3) actually lacks the final vertical, and thus should be transcribed ^{m}PAN.MAŠ.

No. 2: For Enkidu (see Dossin 1956), a standardized Sumerian spelling (without divine determinative) En-ki-du_{10}, which might be understood as "Lord of the Favored Place (see Limet 1968: 262)/Good Earth"[58]—is continued in Old Babylonian Akkadian, where, befitting the character's promotion from servant to bosom companion of Gilgamesh,[59] he is awarded the DINGIR determinative. This opened the way for the later reinterpretation of the name as theophoric, "Enki is Good," and its subsequent recasting as ^{d}EN.KI.DÙ, "Enki has Created" (cf. Parpola 1988: 318). At Boğazköy, however, the scribes usually employed phonetic spellings: ^{d}*En-ki-du* and ^{d}*En-ki-du_4* in Akkadian and Hittite,[60] and ^{d}*En-ki-ta* in Hurrian. The Hurrian desinence also appears once or twice in a Hittite-language manuscript.

No. 3: For Huwawa, the labialized, voiced, and dissimilated form Humbaba is unknown before the first millennium, although the labializing is found in the text from Ugarit (MB 5). Hittite declension of this name as an *ai*-stem has been taken over from Hurrian.

No. 4: The Akkadian common noun for "hunter" has been transformed by the Hittite redactor into the proper names Shangashu (literally "murderer," a term that usually refers to a demon; see *CAD* Š/I, 70–71). In SB, Tablet I (lines 113 and *passim*), the anonymous hunter is designated by a different *parrās* noun, *ṣayyādu*, "stalker."

No. 5: Shanhatu is derived from Akkadian *šamḫatu*, a type of prostitute (see *CAD* Š/I, 311–12). The word had already been employed as a personal name, Shamkatum, in the OB Pennsylvania Tablet (lines 49, 135, 140, 175).

No. 6: At Boğazköy the barmaid is designated in two ways: by the Hurrian personal name Nahmazuli or Nahmizuli, or by *šidurri* (in the Hurrian texts) and *ziduri* (in the Hittite). I believe that at this stage the latter term is an epithet, "maid; young woman"—an ordinary Hurrian noun (Laroche 1978–1979: 229)—and that it only later became the proper name Shiduri attested in SB.

No. 7: The ferryman Ur-Shanabi[61] is represented only phonetically at Boğazköy. The single instance of the divine rather than the personal determinative with this name is likely a scribal error. I cannot give a convincing interpretation of this name. Neither "Servant of Two-Thirds" nor "Servant of Forty" makes much sense, while substitution for the numerical component yields "Servant of Ea," which would also be puzzling.

No. 8: The mutations in the name of the survivor of humankind's primeval dangers are somewhat complicated (cf. Tigay 1982: 229–30). Sumerian Zi-u_4-sud-rá, "Life of Long Days," was apparently metathesized as *U_4-zi-sud-rá and rendered into Akkadian as (admittedly unattested) **Um-napištim rēqum,* "'Day of Life,' the Distant One." That is, sud-rá = *rēqum* became an epithet for the bearer of the name rather than an adjective modifying "day." The final stage of this development involved giving u_4 a phonetic value *ud/t*, culminating in *Ūt(a)-napištim,*"I /He Found Life." This exegesis provided the character with a programmatic personal name, even if it is an affront to correct grammar in its retention of the genitive case.[62]

In the Hurrian and Hittite sources, we encounter a completely different form, Ullu. As Ernst Weidner observed long ago,[63] this is simply the nominative singular masculine of the Akkadian pronoun of far deixis, "The One Over There; The Distant One," surely a reasonable substitution for the adjective *rēqum.*

No. 9: Inanna of the Sumerian texts has been modernized as ^{d}*$Iš_8$-tár* in all later sources, occasionally appearing even as simple ^{d}*Iš-tar* in Neo-Assyrian texts. It should be noted that phonetic complementation (^{d}*$IŠ_8$-TÁR-iš*) shows that in the Hittite version the name of the goddess is not Šawušga—as it is, of course, in the Hurrian fragments, but rather Anzili (see Wilhelm 2010).

58. Since this name is never written with -g a (-), which would clearly indicate a genitive construction, it is probably an abbreviated form of a longer designation, *En-ki-du_{10} … "the en-priest who … the favored place." Cf. Limet 1968: 239.

59. Tigay (1982: 29) identifies this change as a crucial element in the development of the Gilgamesh materials into a unified epic. George (2003: 19) observes signs of a closer attachment between Gilgamesh and Enkidu already in older sources.

60. This spelling of course simply reflects the frequent practice by which Hittite scribes writing Akkadian texts or proper names retained CV*m* signs in final position despite the general loss of mimation.

61. Lambert (1957: 6) suggests that this personal name was borrowed from an actual person living in the Kassite era.

62. George 2007: 238 judges that (*W*)*uttur-napušti*, "Well Augumented as to Life," of the Ugarit exercise is "an attempt to make good sense of th[is] conventional writing."

63. Cited by Friedrich (1930: 65 n. 1).

This onomastic survey has produced results in harmony with those arrived at earlier through analysis of the distribution of story elements. A perusal of the right-hand columns of Tables 2A and 2B shows that the Hittite version seldom employs the onomastic renderings found in the edition of Sin-leqi-unninni, so dependence of the Anatolian composition upon a direct forerunner of SB is unlikely.

CTH 341.I—AKKADIAN

CTH 341.I.1

With the exception of fragment B, these pieces may have belonged to a single tablet, and the same scribe appears to have written all of them (Wilhelm 1988: 101, 110). Their "Middle Hittite" script indicates that they were inscribed in Hattusa around 1400. I have followed the order established by George (2003), based on correspondence of their contents with passages of other versions of the epic.

A. KBo 32.128 [A_1] (+) 131 [A_2] (+) 130 [A_3]
B. KBo 32.132
C. KBo 32.129
D. KBo 32.133

Editions: Wilhelm 1988; George 2003: 307–17, pls. 24–25. Translation: del Monte 2004: 307–9.

A_1

obv. **1′.** [*ḫarimtu pîša īpušamma izzakkara ana*] ^{d}*En-ki-dù dam-qá-tam-ma* ⌜^{d}⌝[*Enkidu*]

§1′ **2′.** [*kīma ili tabašši ammīni i*]*t-ti nam-ma-aš-še*^{MEŠ} *ša ṣe-r*[*i*]

3′. [*tattanallak …*] x-*ib-*⌜*ša*⌝ *ki-ma* DINGIR^{lim} *ta-bá-*⌜*aš-ši*⌝

4′. [*mannumma kīma kâti šaruḫ i-n*]*a zi-ik-kà-ri*

---

§2′ **5′.** [*ḫarimtu pîša īpušamma izzakkara*] ⌜*a*⌝*-na* ^{d}*En-ki-du al-kam* ^{d}*En-ki-du*

6′. [*lurdēka ana gupri ša rēʾî*] ⌜*a*⌝*-šar* TÙR 1-*šu iš-ḫu-uṭ-ma šu-ú it-tal-bá-aš*

7′. [*libša šanâ ramānša labšat qāssu ṣa-ab-t*]*a-at-ma ki-ma* DINGIR^{lim} *pa-ni-šu*

8′. [*illak ana gupri ša rēʾî a-š*]*ar* TÙR

---

§3′ **9′.** [*ina ṣērīšu ipḫurū rēʾû ītammu um-m*]*a-num a-na ra-ma-an-nu*[64]*-uš*

10′. [*anāmi Gilgameš ma-šil pa-da-t*]*a la-a-na ša-pí-il i-ṣé-em-ta*

11′. [*puggul minde ša iwwaldu i-n*]*a ša-di-i* GA$^{ši-iz-ba}$ *ša nam-ma-aš-te*$^{ME[Š]}$

12′. [*ītenniq akla iškunū maḫaršu i*]*p-pal-li-ís* NINDA^{lam} *ú-ta-ad-di-ir*

13′. [*kurunna iškunū maḫaršu ippallis kurunna*] ⌜*ú*⌝*-tá-ad-dir*$_x$ (TAR)

---

§4′ **14′.** [*ḫarimtu pîša īpušamma izzakkara ana Enkidu*] ⌜*a*⌝*-ku-ul* NINDA^{lam} ^{d}*En-ki-dù*

15′. [*simat ilūti kurunna šiti si-m*]*a-at šàr-ru-ut-tim*

16′. [*īkul akla Enkidu adi šebêšu ku*]-⌜*ru*⌝*-n*[*a iš-t*]*i-ma* ⌜7⌝ [*assammî*]

…

64. Text: DU.

B

§5′ **1′.** [*o o o*] *x* ZA[?] […]

---

§6′ **2′.** *iṣ-ṣa-ab-tù* ^{d}[GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *u Enkidu* …]
3′. *i-na ma-le-e-*⌜*šu*⌝ […]
4′. ⌜*a*⌝*-na* EGIR-*šu* ^{d}[*En-ki-dù pîšu īpušamma izzakkara ana Gilgameš* …]
5′. [^{d}]GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ AM[A-*ka ūlidka* …]
6′. [*ù*] *i-na* x […]
7′. [o o] x x […]

…

A$_2$

§7′ **1′.** […] ⌜*ù*⌝ *x* […]

---

§8′ **2′.** […] x-*mi ša t*[*a*[?]- …]
3′. […]-⌜*a*⌝*-ti a-ya i-n*[*a*[?](-) …]
4′. […]-*ši i-na lìb-bi* x […]
5′. […] *x-ya* GÍR.ḪI.A *li-iḫ*-[…]

---

§9′ **6′.** [*Enkidu pîšu īpušamma izzakkara*] *a-na* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *a-n*[*a-ku*[?] …]
7′. [… N] MA.NA *i-na ši-ib-bi*[-*ka* …]
8′. […] *aš-ku-un* KI-*im-mi*-x […]

(near bottom of tablet)

…

(top of tablet)

A$_3$

§10′ **1.** […] *x* […]

---

§11′ **2.** [DINGIR *ša iqabbû lūmur ša šumšu it-ta-na-a*]*m-bá-lu* K[I *lukšussūma*]
3. [*ina qišti erēni kīma dannu per'u ša Uruk l*]*u-še-eš-mi* K[UR *qātī*]
4. [*luškunma erēna šuma š*]*a dá-re-e a-n*[*a-ku luštakna*]

---

§12′ **5.** [*šībūtu ša Uruk zikra uterrū ana Gilgameš*] ⌜*a*⌝*-na mi-ni-im ta-a*[*ḫ-ši-iḫ annâ*]
6. [*epēša qabal lā ma-ḫa-r*]*i šu-bat* ^{d}*Ḫu-w*[*a-wa mannu ša*]
7. [*imaḫḫaru kakkīšu ana šūši*] *bé-*⌜*ri*[?]⌝ *n*[*u-ma-at qištu* …]

…

D

§13′ **1′.** […] x
2′. […]-*ya*

---

§14′ **3′.** [… *l*]*u-ul-li-kam te*[- …]
4′. […] x-*ma*
5′. […] x *i-na* URU$^{l[im]}$[…]
6′. […] x-IG-*ma* […]
7′. […]-*šu*

---

§15′ **8′.** […] *i-šu-ú* […]
9′. […] x *i*-G/T[A- …]

…
A$_1$ rev.

§16′	**1′.**	[… *tu-ša-ak-ši*]*-dá-aš-šu a-na maḫ-*⌜*ri-ya*⌝
§17′	**2′.**	[…] x-*ti et-ta-lu-ti*
	3′.	[… *e ta-ḫu-u*]*z aš-ša-ta ù la-a-al-*⌜*e-ša*⌝
	4′.	[*e tešbe* …] x [T]E.MURUB$_4$.ḪÉ *ra-bi-i-ti*
	5′.	[… *ir-t*]*a-ap-pu-dá i-na ṣe-er mu-ḫi-šu*
§18′	**6′.**	[*Enkidu pīšu īpušamma izzakkara ana Gilgameš ši*]*-ma-an-ni ib-ri*
	7′.	[… *tu-u*]*r a-ra-aḫ né-er-šu-ma*
	8′.	[…] x *a-na še-er-ri-im*
	9′.	[…]-⌜*e*⌝*-ri*
…		
C	**1′.**	[…] x x […]
§19′	**2′.**	[…] *a-di i-*⌜*ta-a*⌝*-mu-ma i-te*-x […]
	3′.	[…] x x-⌜*ṣi*⌝ *im-ta-aq-qú-ut-ma ú-ul* x […]
	4′.	[…] x-*šu* ^{er} x […]
§20′	**5′.**	[… *ki-m*]*a* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa* ⌜*i*⌝*-n*[*é-ru* …]
	6′.	[…] x x [o] x GA ⌜*di*⌝*-n*[*i*? …]
	7′.	[…] ⌜*a*⌝*-na-dá-a-ma a-na* ⌜*ḫa*?⌝[- …]
	8′.	[…] x ⌜KI TI⌝ *ù* ^{LÚ}GURUŠ *la le-*'[-*u* …]
	9′.	[…] *ù di-in* ^{d}*En-ki-du i-p*[*á-ar-ra-su*? …]
	10′.	[…] ⌜^{d}⌝GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *a-ši-ib i-na* É-*š*[*u* …][65]
§21′	**11′.**	[…]-⌜*ṣa*⌝(-)*lu-la-a-šu* ^{d}*En-ki-dù* x […]
	12′.	[…] ⌜*i-mu*⌝*-ra ša ki-ma* ⌜*i*⌝-[…]
	13′.	[…] x *na-qí-im-me-e a-*⌜*ya*⌝ […]
	14′.	[… *–r*]*a-a-tù* ⌜*li*⌝*-ib-kà-a x* […]
§22′	**15′.**	[… ^{d}*En-ki*]*-dù a-na šu-wa-a-tù iz*[*-za-kà-ra ana Gilgameš* …]
	16′.	[…]*-te-*⌜*li-a*⌝ *la* x […]
	17′.	[…] x x […]

§1′ [The prostitute began to speak, saying to] Enkidu, "You are fair, [Enkidu], and [you are like a god. Why] do you [go about] with the beasts of the field? […] You are like a god. [Who among] men [is as splendid as you?]"

§2′ [The prostitute began to speak, saying] to Enkidu, "Come, Enkidu! [I shall lead you to the shepherds' reed huts], where the sheep pen is." She stripped off one (garment) and he clothed himself. [Her body was clothed in the second garment.] She took [his hand and went before him] like a god [to the shepherds' reed huts, where] the sheep pen is.

65. Photo shows a double paragraph stroke here as in the copy KBo 32.129, not present in George's copy (2003: pl. 25f).

§3′ [The shepherds gathered around him.] The people said to one another, ["So—he is equal to Gilgamesh in frame], shorter in stature, [strong] of bone. [Perhaps he is one born in] the mountains, [and has suckled] the milk of the beasts." [They set bread before him.] He gaped at the bread and was troubled. [They set fine beer before him. He gaped at the beer] and was troubled.

§4′ [The prostitute began to speak, saying to Enkidu], "Eat the bread, Enkidu, [befitting the gods. Drink the fine beer], befitting kings." [Enkidu ate the bread until he was sated.] Of the beer he drank seven [vessels].

…

§5′ […] §6′ [Gilgamesh and Enkidu] grappled […] by his filthy hair […] behind him. [Enkidu began to speak, saying to Gilgamesh, " …] your mother [bore you], O Gilgamesh […"]

…

§7′ […] §8′ … let […] not […] in the midst […] may the daggers […]

§9′ [Enkidu began to speak, saying] to Gilgamesh, "[I … N] mina in [your] belt […] I placed … […"]

…

§10′ […] §11′ ["I want to see the deity of whom they speak, whose name] the earth spreads without cease. [I want to conquer him in the Cedar Forest, and thus] let [the land] hear [that the scion of Uruk is mighty. I want to set my hand to felling cedar, so that I might establish a name] for all eternity!"

§12′ [The elders of Uruk replied to Gilgamesh], "Why do you [desire to do this?] (Approaching) the dwelling place of Huwawa [is a battle not to be faced. Who is there who can withstand his weapons? For sixty] leagues [the forest is desolate …"]

…

§13′ […] §14′ […] "I will come back; you […] in the city […]" §15′ […] has […]

…

§16′ ["… you] brought before me."

§17′ ["…] lordliness [… may you not take] a wife, and [may you not be sated] with her charms! […] a great […] will run about on top of his skull."

§18′ [Enkidu began to speak, saying to Gilgamesh], "Listen to me, my friend. […] hurry, strike him again, and […] to an infant […]"

…

§19′ […] while they were speaking […] he kept falling and did not […] him […]

§20′ ["… that] they killed Huwawa. […] judgment […] I will throw down, and to […] … and the incompetent youth […] And [they will] judge the case of Enkidu […] Gilgamesh is seated in his house […"]

§21′ […] Enkidu […] he saw. One who like […] May he not [have] progeny! Let the […]-women weep […]

§22′ [… Enkidu spoke] to him, [to Gilgamesh …] … not […]

CTH 341.I.2

The script of this lower-left quadrant of a tablet indicates that it was inscribed in the thirteenth century at the Hittite capital, a provenance confirmed by X-ray florescence analysis (Goren, Mommsen, and Klinger 2011: 686). It was probably among the material recovered during the excavations of Hugo Winckler and Theodore Makridi in 1906–1907. As George (2003: 44) observes, it is "not a reliable witness."

KUB 4.12

Editions: Thompson 1930: 43–44; George 2003: 318–25, pls. 26–27. Translations: Hecker 1994: 668–70; del Monte 2004: 310–12.

obv.[1] **i**

§1′ **1′.** x-*la ib*[-*ri* …]
2′. ⌜*i*⌝-*pí-iš qé-ru-*⌜*ub*⌝ x x [… *da-am-qá-at*]
3′. *šu-ut-ta-ka iḫ-du e-li-i*[*ṣ li-ib-ba-šu-ma*]
4′. [*p*]*a-na-šu it-t*[*ám-ra*]

---

§2′ **5′.** [*i*]*ṣ-ṣa-ab-ṭù-ni il-la-ku-ni nu-bá-at*[-*ta is-ki-pu i-ni-lu*]
6′. *ši-it-tù ra-ḫi-it mu-ši ik-tal-dá-aš*[-*šu* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ]
7′. *i-na* ½ *mu-ši-ti id-dì-šu ši-it-ta*[-*šu it-bé-e-ma*]
8′. *šu-ut-ta iz-za-kàr a-na* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$ *i*[*b-ri a-tám-mar šu-ut-ta*]
9′. *ki-i la-a ta-ad-kà-an-ni mi-na-a-a*[*m e-re-ku*]
10′. ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$ *ib-ri a-tám-mar šu-ut-t*[*a ki-i la-a*]
11′. *ta-ad-kà-an-ni mi-na-a-am* [*e-re-ku*]

---

§3′ **12′.** *e-li* 1-*en šu-ut-ti-ya ša-ni-tù* [*šu-ut-tu pa-al-ḫa-at*]
13′. *i-na šu-ut-ti-ya ib-ri ša-du-ú* [*ra-bu-ú*?]
14′. *it-ta-dá-an-ni* GÌR.MEŠ-*ya iṣ-ṣa-bat na*[- … *a-ḫi-ya*]
15′. *ša-lu-ma-tù ud-da-an-ni-in* 1-*en* ^{LÚ}GU[RUŠ *la-bi-iš pa-la-a*]
16′. *i-na* KUR *dá-mi-iq-ma du-mu-uq-šu* […]
17′. *šap-la-an* ḪUR.SAG *iš-tal-pa-an-ni-m*[*a* …]
18′. *me-e iš-qá-an-ni-ma* ŠÀ-*bi ip-š*[*a-aḫ-ma e-li*]
19′. *qá-qá-ri ú-ša-aš-ki-in* GÌR.[MEŠ-*ya*]

---

§4′ **20′.** ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$ *a-na* <<DINGIR>> *šu-a-ti iz-z*[*a-kàr-ma i-qab-bi*]
21′. *a-na* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *ib-ri ni-il*[-*la-ka-šum ú-ul* ḪUR.SAG]
22′. *mi-im-ma nu-uk-ku-ur* ^{d}*Ḫ*[*u-wa-wa-ma ša ni-il-la-ka-šum*]
23′. ⌜*ú-ul*⌝ ḪUR.SAG *mim-ma nu-uk*[-*ku-ur* …]
24′. *al-kà mu-uḫ-ḫi pu-luḫ-ta*[-*ka* …]
25′. *in-na-am-ma-ar* […]

---

§5′ **26′.** *ù* ⌜^{LÚ}⌝GURUŠ *ša* [*i-na šu-ut-ti-ka ta-tám-ru* …]
27′. *ša e-ni-ka* [*ma-aḫ-ru*? …]
28′. *ša pa-ag-ri*[-*ka* … ^{d}UTU-*ma*]
29′. *it-ti-ka* […]
30′. *ar-ḫi-i*[*š* … *da-am-qá-at šu-ut-ta-ka*]

31′. ⌜*iḫ-du*⌝ [*e-li-iṣ li-ib-ba-šu-ma pa-na-šu it-tám-ru*]

rev.[!] **iv**[66]

§6′ **1′.** *traces*
2′. ⌜*i*⌝*-na* É.DINGIR-*lì-šú ú-na-sí-is* [*qí-im-mat-šu* …]
3′. *il-la-ki it*[67]*-ta-dì ar-š*[*u-ti-šu* …]
4′. *ir-ta-kà-aš a-na* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$[68] ^{d}[*Ištar iz-za-kàr*?]
5′. *lu-ú* <*aš-ša-at*>*-ka a*^{er}*-na-ku* LUM *ta-ḫa-za-a-n*[*i* …]
6′. *di-iš ša* NA$_{4}$.<N>ÍR[!].BABBAR.DILI <GIŠ>UMBIN[!?] […]
7′. SAG.GÉME.MEŠ *ša ḫa-aš-ma-ni* ZI-*r*[*u-* …]
8′. *a-ga-lu* <<*lu*>> *ra-bu-ti ú-ša-aq*[*-la-al* …]
9′. NA$_{4}$.DU$_{8}$.ŠÚ.A *i-na še-pí-ka* «*ù*» [… *a-na re-ši-ka*?]
10′. *li-na-ša-ma* […]

---

§7′ **11′.** *iš-me-ma* ^{d}*Ištar ša* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *q*[*a-ba-a-šu* …]
12′. *ši-ṭa-at ši-ig-ga-ta ek-ke-tá* [… ^{d}*Ištar*]
13′. *iš-ḫur a-na* ^{DUG}*pur-sí-ti ir-ḫi-i*[*ṣ di-ma-ti-ša*? *il-li-ik*]
14′. *e-li a-na* AN-*e iz-za-kàr a-bi* [^{d}*A-nu* …]
15′. *i-tám-ra-an-ni* AMAR *ša* ITU.6.KAM [… ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ]
16′. *iṣ-la-an-ni i-na-an-na id-na*[*-am-ma* …]
17′. *ṣe-re-et a-le-e* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ [*lu-na-ar i-na šub-ti-šu* …]
18′. *šum-ma-am-*<*an*?> ⌜*lu*⌝[*-* …]

---

§8′ **19′.** *ù šu-ú* ^{d}*A-nu te*$_{10}$*-re-ta ša* [^{d}*Ištar iš-me-ma* … *iq-bi*]
20′. ^{d}*Ištar mi-in-ki* ^{LÚ}GURUŠ *i-pu-šu* [… *ṣe-re-et a-le-e*]
21′. *a-na mi-ni te-la-qé* ^{LÚ}GURUŠ *a*[*-* … *la te-la-qé*]
22′. [*ṣ*]*e-re-et a-le-e a-lu-u i-n*[*a er-ṣe-ti* …]
23′. [*i-n*]*a* ⌜*ša*⌝*-me-e ma-aḫ-ra-tù-š*[*u* …]
24′. [o o] x-*ti-šu ig-mu-ur* x […]
25′. […] *ša ḫu-ša-aḫ-ḫa* […]
26′. [… *a*]-⌜*lu*⌝*-u šap-ti*[*-šu* …]
27′. *traces*

§1′ "… [my friend …] it is done. […] is near. Your dream [is favorable]." He rejoiced, [his heart] was gladdened, [and] his expression [lightened].

§2′ They traveled hand in hand, [pitched] camp, [and lay down]. Sleep, which pours out by night, overcame him, [Gilgamesh]. In the middle of the night [his] sleep [was interrupted. He got up and] related his dream to Enkidu: "[My friend, I have seen a dream.] How can it be that you did not wake me? Why [am I awake]? Enkidu, my friend, I have seen a dream. [How can it be] that you did [not] wake me? Why [am I awake]?

§3′ "My second [dream was more frightful] than my my first dream: My friend, in my dream a [great] mountain was cast down upon me, trapping my feet. An awesome glare intensified [(the strength of) my arms]. A certain young man [appeared, clothed in power]. He was the most handsome in the land. His beauty [was

66. On p. 48 of KUB 4, O. Weber corrects the original misidentification of obverse and reverse and states that each side "wohl je zwei Kolumnen enthielt."

67. Text: *at-*.

68. Error for ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ.

surpassing(?)]. He pulled me out from beneath the mountain and […] He gave me water to drink so that my feelings were [settled, and] set [my] feet back [upon] the ground."

§4′ Enkidu [replied] to him, [saying] to Gilgamesh: "My friend, we are going [to him—is he not the mountain?] He is something extremely strange. [Huwawa, to whom we go]—is he not the mountain? He is something extremely strange. […] Come, cast off [your] fear! […] will appear […]

§5′ "And the young man whom [you saw in your dream …], who [found favor in] your eyes, and who [… your] body—[he is the Sun-god]. Without hesitation [he will fight(?)] by your side. [Your dream is favorable.]" He rejoiced, [his heart was gladdened, and his expression lightened].

(*very long gap*)

§6′ In the temple of his god he shook out [his hair …] … He(!) cast off [his] filthy things, and bound on [… Ishtar spoke] to Gilgamesh(!): "I shall be your wife and you shall be my husband. If you marry me, [I will …] … a wheel of(?) *nirpappardilu*-stone […] servant-girls who [manufacture(?)] (garments of) aquamarine hue […] I will make perfect great equids. May they lift up rock crystal stone at your feet and [… at your head]."

(*text omitted here by scribe*)

§7′ Ishtar heard [the reply] of Gilgamesh. She was spurned; with pocks and scabs [she … Ishtar] turned to a bowl and flooded (it) [with her tears(?). She went] up to heaven and said: "O my father [Anu, …] saw me. A calf of six months, [… Gilgamesh] cursed me. Now give me […] the lead rope of the Bull of Heaven, [so that I might kill] Gilgamesh [in his home]. If only I […]"

§8′ And he, Anu, [heard] the charge(?) of [Ishtar … and said]: "O Ishtar, whatever the young man did to you—why will you take [the lead rope of the Bull of Heaven? …] the young man. [Do not take] the lead rope of the Bull of Heaven. On [the earth] the Bull of Heaven [will … ; in] heaven it will […] its forelegs […]. Its […] is exhausted […] that famine […] the Bull of Heaven, [its] lips […]."

Commentary

§6′ *Rev. 3′*: *il-la-ki* is unclear.

Rev. 4′: *ir-ta-kà*-AŠ here and IŠ-*ḫur* in rev. 13′ are West Peripheral Akkadian forms.

Rev. 5′: This line is corrupt. For the interpretation followed here, see George 2003: 324.

Rev. 6′: Perhaps *qî-iš-ša*, "give," but the photo seems to show word space before the final sign.

Rev. 7′: Singer (2008: 23 n. 37) adduces this line in a discussion of purple dyeing, another feature that would accord with a reworking of the epic in a northern Syrian environment.

§7′ *Rev. 11′*: Comparison with SB indicates that the reply of Gilgamesh to Ishtar's offer has been omitted. George (2003: 324) suggests that the eye of an editor or scribe simply jumped to the wrong paragraph stroke.

CTH 341.I.3

KUB 37.128

This small fragment, recovered from Building H on the Büyükkale, has been assigned to the Gilgamesh Epic (Gurney 1957: 202) because of its mention of dreams (lines 3′–5′) and the address to "my friend" (line 4′). Its script suggests that it was imported from Mesopotamia (J. Klinger 2005: 114 n. 15).

1′. [...]-*ša il-t*[*a*?-...]
2′. [...]-*kit*? *il-ta*-x[...]
3′. [...] x-*ra šu-na*[69]-*ta* [...]
4′. [... *lu-u*]*l-lik ib-ri* x [...]
5′. [...] *ma-ʾ-da šu-na*[-*ta* ...]
6′. [...] *lu-us-ḫu-ur* [...]
7′. [... *q*]*á-gar-ka lu*[-...]
8′. [...] x x [...]

other side lost

Too fragmentary for translation.

69. Over erasure?

CTH 341.II—HURRIAN

Editions: Salvini and Wegner 2004: 31–37; Fournet 2013. Studies: Kammenhuber 1967a, 1967b; Salvini 1988; del Monte 2004: 226–28; Bachvarova 2016: 72–76.

As already remarked, the condition of the Hurrian fragments makes their interpretation, let alone their translation, nearly impossible.[70] We can only recognize the names of the characters and understand a few of the words employed and then compare the information so retrieved to our knowledge of the Gilgamesh tradition acquired from sources in better-understood languages.

A perusal of table 3 reveals both similarities and differences from the other relevant Boğazköy material: The primary characters, Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and Huwawa, are present, as are the deities Shaushga and the Sun-god Shimegi, albeit under their explicitly Hurrian names. The Storm-god, who plays almost no role in the Akkadian and Hittite recensions, is ubiquitous in his Hurrian avatar Teshub, as indicated by his association with the Kizzuwatnaean city of Kumminni/Kummanni (see Haas 1994: 580–81). The Hurrian Fate-deities Hutena [and Hutelura(?)] thus far are known only from Anatolian Hurrian sources.

As for content, I tentatively propose to see the combat with Huwawa in II.5 §2′, the visit to Ullu, the survivor of the Deluge, in II.1 §§12′–13′, and the chat with the barmaid in II.2 §§1′–7′.[71] Further, we may recognize a reception scene in II.1 §3′, and the burning of incense offerings in II.4 §2′.

It is safe to conclude that the Hurrian-language represents not a straightforward translation of Akkadian Gilgamesh traditions—whether written or oral—but a substantial reworking of these tales in order to adapt them to the religious and mythological world of the Hurrians, as otherwise on display in the Kumarbi cycle from Boğazköy.[72]

Nonetheless, familiarity with contemporary Mesopotamian epic formulae is demonstrated by the frequent introduction of direct speech by the Hurrian phrase (tiwe=na) al=u=mai(n) kad=i=a, "speaking (words), (s)he says" (II.1 §8; II.2 §§1′, 3′, 7′; II.3 §5′; II.5 §2′; II.6 §1′, II.7 §2′), equivalent to Akkadian *pâšu īpuš*(*a*) *iqabbi*.

It is not clear whether the differences in the two extant colophons—[DUB.N.KAM (…)] *ŠA* ^{d}*Bíl-ga-mes* (II.1) and DUB.4.KAM *ŠA* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa* NU.TIL (II.2)—indicates that we are dealing with more than a single composition. In any event, the mention of a fourth tablet shows that there was originally a significant amount of Hurrian-language text pertaining to the epic.

70. George (2003: 25) says that they are "largely unintelligible." Fournet 2013, who tries to match the half-preserved Hurrian lines with verses in SB, is not convincing.

71. Perhaps II.2 §6′ contained Gilgamesh's recollection of his confrontation with Huwawa, as recounted to Nahmazueli.

72. Much of this corpus has been edited by Güterbock (1946, 1951, 1952), and translated by Hoffner (1990: 40–61).

Table 3. Proper Names in the Hurrian Gilgamesh Texts

Ea **II.2** rev. 32′; **II.4**:1′, 7′, 10′ (^{d}A.A), 16′
Enkita **II.2** obv. 18′; **II.5**:[2′]
Gi/algame/ish **II.1** rev. 17′, LeE 1 (^{d}*Bíl-ga-mes*); **II.2** obv. 8′, 21′; **II.3** ii 4, 6, 8; **II.7**:5′
Hutena **II.1** obv. 11′
Huwawa **II.1** obv. 9′? [; **II.2** rev. 6′, 19′?[; **II.5**:4′]
Irri[b(-) II.1 rev. 7′
Nahmazueli **II.2** rev. 22′
Shaushga **II.3** iv 6′ (^{d}*IŠTAR-ga*)
Shimegi **II.2** rev. 31′
Teshub
  ^{d}U ^{URU}Kumminni **II.2** rev. 29′; **II.3** ii [3]; **II.6**:[5′], [7′]; **II.7**:[3′]
  ^{d}IŠKUR **II.3** ii 1
Ullu **II.1** rev. 9′, 12′, 23′, 26′; **II.3** iv 2′

CTH 341.II.1

KBo 51.228 (+) KUB 8.60 (+?) KUB 47.9 (+) KBo 68.145 (Salvini and Wegner 2004: no. 1)

obv.

§1′ **1′.** x […]
2′. *tu-um*[- …]
3′. *ḫa-ar-ʿri*ˀ[- …]

---

§2′ **4′.** ʿ*tip*ˀ-*ḫu-te-na-aḫ*[(-) …]
5′. ʿ*a*ˀ-*ki za-ap-p*[*í*(-) …]
6′. [*z*]*u-ú-lu-ú-te*[- …]
7′. *a-za-al-li-in* x […]
8′. *ḫu-ú-e ú-e pu-l*[*i*- …]
9′. *a-we*$_{e}$*-ya-ša* ^{d}*Ḫ*[*u*- …]

---

§3′ **10′.** *we*$_{e}$*-el an-ni-t*[*a* …]
11′. ^{d}*Ḫu-te-na-a-ša* [^{d}*Ḫu-u-te-el-lu-úr-ra*? …]
12′. *ḫu-ʿma*ˀ*-ru-ḫi-na-ʿan*ˀ x […]
13′. *bi-in-da-ya-ʿan*ˀ*-ni* […]
14′. *ḫu-e-ni-wa*$_{a}$*-an ḫu-ma-r*[*u-ḫi* …]
15′. *da-pa-aš-ti-li* […]
16′. *na-aḫ-ḫi-li e-en-na* […]

---

§4′ **17′.** *né-e-la-pa-an* ʿ*da*ˀ-x […]
18′. *wu*$_{u}$*-ri-iš-ša-an-n*[*i*- …]

---

§5′ **19′.** *ma-a-na-ad-da-a*[*n* …]
20′. *e-ti-ya-ša* x […]
21′. *ú-bu-ul-la* […]

22′. ˹*ki*˺-*ki*-˹*ša*?˺ […]
23′. ˹*ki*?˺-[…]

rev.

§6′ **1′.** ˹*šu*˺-*ur*-*r*[*i* - …]
2′. *ti*-*da*-*a*[*r*- …]
3′. *ḫa*-*ar*-x[(-) …]
4′. *a*-*ri* […]

---

§7′ **5′.** *ḫa*-*a*-*ú*[- …]
6′. *ku*-*un*-*t*[*e*- …]

---

§8′ **7′.** $^{m?}$*Ir*-*ri*-*i*[*b*˹(-) … *ti*-*wi*$_{i}$-*na*]
8′. *a*-*lu*-*ma*-*a*-˹*e*˺[-*en*? *ka*-*ti*-*ya* …]
9′. ^{m}*Ú*-*ul*-*lu*-*u*[*š* …]
10′. *iš*-*te*-*in*-*n*[*i* …]
11′. *ti*-*da*-*ar*[- …]

---

§9′ **12′.** ^{m}*Ú*-*ul*-*lu*-[*uš* … *ti*-*wi*$_{i}$-*na*]
13′. *a*-*lu*-*ma*-*a*-˹*e*˺[-*en*? …]
14′. *wu*$_{u}$-*ri*-*li* x […]
15′. *šar*-*ri n*[*a*- …]
16′. *pa*-*ar*-*zi*-*i*[*l*˹-*li*? …]

---

§10′ **17′.** ^{d}*Gal*-*ga*-*mi*-*i*[*š*(-) …]
18′. *ḫa*-*ad*-*du*-*ú*-˹*a*˺[(-) …]
19′. *pu*-*uz*-*za bi*-*i*[*l*- …]

---

§11′ **20′.** ˹*ma*˺-*a*-*n*[*u* …]

(gap)

§12′ **21′.** ˹*e*˺-*in*-*ḫi*-*n*[*i*? …]
22′.[*m*]*u*-*ur*-*ra*-*a*-*e* […]
23′. ^{m}*Ú*-*ul*-*lu*-*uš ku*[- …]
24′. *ša*-*ad*-*du*-*um š*[*u*- …]
25′. *ḫu*-*šu*-*ur*-*ra*-*a*-*š*[*a* …]

---

§13′ **26′.** ^{m}*Ú*-*ul*-*lu*-*u*[*š* …]
27′. *ḫi*-*li*-*im*-*zu*[(-) …]
28′. *ki*-*iš*-*ḫi*-*n*[*i*? …]
29′. *ku*-*un*-x […]

LeE [DUB.N.KAM (…)] *ŠA* ^{d}*Bíl*-*ga*-*mes*
[(…)] NU.TIL

CTH 341.II.2

KUB 8.61 + KBo 8.144 (Salvini and Wegner 2004: no. 2)

obv.

§1′
1′. ˹a˺-lu-ma-a-˹i-in˺ k[a-ti-ya …]
2′. ḫa-a-ša-ri-in-na ˹kar˺[- …]
3′. i-nu-ud-da pa-a-li-uš-še-ni-W[A …]
4′. ši-du-ur-ri-wa$_{a}$ aš-te-ni-w[a$_{a}$ …]
5′. še-e-ni-ib-we$_{e}$ pa-a-ḫi-du-u-ú […]
6′. aš-te-ni-wa$_{a}$-ni-it e-ti-da […]
7′. a-ša-aš-te-du-u-ú šu-un-z[a$^{?}$(-) …]

---

§2′
8′. ^{d}Gal-ga-mi-šu-ul ti-wi$_{i}$-na […]
9′. a-lu-ma-a-i-in ka-ti-ya A[N …]
10′. ka-ti-i-ú ti-i-wi$_{i}$-na šu-u[n$^{?}$- …]
11′. it-tu-ú-bi-in ú-ru-un-ni-x[(-) …]
12′. šu-uk-ku-ut-ta-at-ta-am e[- …]
13′. šu-˹uk˺-ku-ut-ta-at-ta e-ra-x […]
14′. ú-x[-o](-)aš-ti-im e-eš-š[i$^{?}$ …]
15′. ki-wu$_{u}$-˹šu˺-uš na-am-la […]
16′. in-ta-an-ni-im ki-ik-la […]
17′. ša-a-šu-da ḫa-˹ar˺-ša […]

---

§3′
18′. ^{d}En-ki-ta-a[l … ti-wi$_{i}$-na]
19′. a-lu-ma-a-i-in [ka-ti-a …]
20′. ti-bi-ib ti-š[i- …]
21′. ^{d}Gal-ga-mi-iš[(-) …]
22′. še-ni-ib-wi$_{i}$ pa[-a-ḫi-du-u-ú …]
23′. ḫi-in-ni e-W[A- …]
24′. nu-ú-ma ši[- …]

---

§4′
25′. ka-a-te ú-x[- …]
26′. šu-ú-ni-ib AN […]
27′. a-aš-te-ni-wa$_{a}$-an ˹e$^{?}$˺[-ti-da$^{?}$ … še-e-ni-ib-we$_{e}$]
28′. pa-a-ḫi-du-u-ú x […]
29′. ˹šu$^{?}$-u$^{?}$˺-ri-wi$_{i}$-ni-e[l …]
30′. [o o o] x-ik-k[u …]

rev.

§5′
1′. [o o o]-ta […]
2′. [o o]-ni za[- …]
3′. [o o]-˹ú˺-wa AN […]
4′. ˹pa˺-pa-an-na-še x […]
5′. šu-ur-ra-a-še […]
6′. ^{d}Ḫu-wa-wa-in […]
7′. ú-ru-ú-bi a[- …]
8′. ḫa-a-še-ra-a-e […]

9′. *wa*$_{a}$*-šu-ú-li-ma* […]

---

§6′

10′. *a-ma-a-nu-ma-al* […]
11′. *za-zu-ul-da ḫa*-W[A$^{?}$ …]
12′. *da-a-li-ya* […]
13′. *ḫi-ra-a-ri*(-)*i-z*[*u*$^{?}$(-) …]
14′. *iš-*^{r}*ta*$^{?\urcorner}$[- …]
15′. $^{\ulcorner d?\urcorner}$*Pa*[- …]
16′. x […]
17′. *ši-i*[*-ya* …]
18′. *ti-i-*[*wi*$_{i}$(-) …]
19′. ^{d}*Ḫu*[*-wa-wa-* …]
20′. *ši-i-y*[*a* **…]**
21′. *zu-up-n*[*i* …]

---

§7′

22′. ^{d}*N*[*a*]*-aḫ-ma-*^{r}*zu*$^{\urcorner}$*-le-el* [*ti-wi*$_{i}$*-na* …]
23′. *a-lu-ma-a-i ka-ti-ya m*[*a-an-ni* …]
24′. *bi-e-da-ru-uš a-wa-ki-ḫ*[*u-* …]
25′. *wu*$_{u}$*-ga-a-da še-el-li* x […]
26′. *še-el-lu-ḫu-ul-la wu*$_{u}$*-ru*[*-ul-li* …]
27′. *pa-ab-ni* DINGIR.MEŠ*-ši it-ta-*^{r}*e*$^{\urcorner}$ […]
28′. *šu-ma-al-la-am a-i-ma* […]
29′. ^{d}U*-ub* ^{URU}*Kum-mi-ni-we*$_{e}$ *t*[*a-la-wu*$_{u}$*-ši eb-ri*]
30′. *a-i-ma ḫi-in-ni ma-a-a*[*n-* …]
31′. [^{d}*Š*]*i-mi-i-ga-*^{r}*e*$^{\urcorner}$ *ke-e-*x […]
32′. [*o o*]*-x-ni* ^{d}É.A *ma*[*-ti*$^{?}$ …]

LeE

1. DUB.4.KAM *ŠA* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa* NU.TIL

CTH 341.II.3

KBo 33.10 (+) KBo 19.124 + KBo 54.5 (Salvini and Wegner 2004: no. 3). Study: Nakamura 1999.

i

---

§1′ **1′.** *u-mi-i*[*n-na-ša*ʔ …
2′. *ḫa-a-r*[*a*(-) …]
3′. *eb-ri* […]
4′. *ú-úr-ḫa* […]
5′. *ḫé-bar-r*[*i-in*ʔ…]
6′. *ši-i-n*[*a* …]
7′. *na-we*$_{e}$[- …]
8′. *ša-a-ša*[- …]

---

§2′ **9′.** *ša-a-tu*-x […]
10′. *na-we*$_{e}$-x […]
11′. ˹*i*˺-*ya*[- …]
12′. x *nu* x […]

ii

§3′ **1.** […] x x […] ^{d}IŠKUR-*wu*$_{u}$-*ta* x […]
2. […] x x x x *i-ya-at* ˹*i*˺-x […]
3. [… ^{d}U-*ub* ^{URU}*Kum-mi*]-*ni-we*$_{e}$ *da-la-wu*$_{u}$-*ši eb-r*[*i* …]
4. [… -*l*]*u-u-šu* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*we*$_{e}$
5. […] x-*tab-wa*$_{a}$ *tu-u-ni-li-ib-wa*$_{a}$
6. [… ^{d}GI]Š.GIM.MAŠ *ḫa-aš-tu-u teʔ-we*$_{e}$-*n*[*a* …]
7. […] x *da-la-am-tib*
8. […]-˹*na*ʔ˺ ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*u-ta*
9. […] x-*we*$_{e}$-*ni-el-la*
10. […] *x-li*

---

§4′ **11.** […] x(-)*ta-abʔ-da-niʔ*
12. […] x-*ab*
13. [… -*ḫ*]*a-an*
14. […] x-*u-an a-we*$_{e}$-*ya-ša*
15. […]-*šu-u-ni-ya-ša*
16. [… -*i*]*tʔ* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-ša*

---

§5′ **17.** […]-*ta-al a-lu-ma-i ka*$_{4}$-*ti-ya*
18. […] x *aš-ka-ab-wa*$_{a}$
19. […] x-*ḫa ú-úr-ḫa-a-ab*
20. […] x *ú-mi-i-ḫa*
21. […] x-*li-ma*
22. […] x-*ka-a*

iii

§6′ **1′.** […] x-x-⌜*ša*ʔ⌝
2′. […] x-*na*
3′. […] *ši-in-wi*$_{i}$-*i*
4′. […] x
5′. […]-⌜*ki*⌝-x-x
6′. [… -*w*]*a*$_{a}$-*al*
7′. […-*w*]*a*$_{a}$-*ḫu*[- o o]-*ni* EZEN$^{?}$-*za*
8′. […] GU$_{4}$$^{?}$ *lu*-x [o –*t*]*a*ʔ
9′. […] x

---

§7′ **10′.** […] x-*m*[*a*(-) …]
11′. […] x-*ú-la-a*[*l*- …]
12′. […] x-*la*ʔ *ḫa-ši-i*[*m-ni*ʔ*-ya*ʔ …]
13′. […](-)*ul-la-i-na* […]
14′. […]-⌜*a*⌝-*wa*$_{a}$ ^{URU}*Šu-šu-ḫ*[*é*ʔ(-) …]
15′. [… -*d*]*a*ʔ*-a-i te-ša-a*-W[A(-) …]
16′. [… -*e*]*l*ʔ*-eḫ-ḫi ḫa-ši-im-ni-y*[*a*(-) …]
17′. […] x-*kam-lu-ur-ri* ḪUR.SA[G …]
18′. […] x-*ma-an a*-⌜*ki*⌝-*wa*$_{a}$-*a-at*[-*ta*]
19′. […] x-*ú-i na-wa*$_{a}$-*ni*-W[Aʔ …]
20′. […]-⌜*a*⌝ *ni-i*-W[A(-) …]

(lower edge)

iv

§8′ **1′.** [o]-⌜*ša*⌝-[…]
2′. ^{m}*Ul-lu-u*-[*uš* …]
3′. *šu-u-ú*-x […]
4′. *še-in-te*^{l} […]
5′. *ge-e*-[…]

---

§9′ **6′.** ^{d}*IŠTAR-ga*(-)[…]
7′. *ú-wa-a-a*[*t* …]
8′. *ša-a-ra*(-)[…]
9′. *wa*$_{a}$-*ḫi-y*[*a* …]
10′. x x-⌜*e*ʔ⌝[…]

CTH 341.II.4

KUB 47.10 (Salvini and Wegner 2004: no. 4)

---

§1′ **1′.** […] ⌜^{d}⌝É.A-*y*[*a*ʔ …]
2′. [… *ši*ʔ-*n*]*u*ʔ-*ut-ḫi a-na-am-m*[*a*ʔ …]
3′. […] ⌜*a*ʔ⌝(-)*ma-a-nu-pal-la a*-x […]
4′. [… -*z*]*i*(-)*pa-a-ip zu-uk-ki ḫi*[- …]
5′. […] x-*ku-un-na ta-a-an-du* ^{URU}x […]
6′. […] *x-a-an a-ap*ʔ-*a-ḫu bi-en-du ki-i*[*š*- …]

---

§2′ **7′.** [… -*r*]*u*ʔ-*uš-ta-an-ta a-al-wa*$_{a}$ ^{d}É.A *ma*[-*a-ti-ni* …]
8′. […]-*i ta-pa-ag-ga na-a-ni-in-du-uš-š*[*a* …]
9′. [… -*u*]*n-za-a-ni ku-ru-up-pa na-a-ni-in-du-uš-a ḫu*[- …]
10′. […] *a-al-wa*$_{a}$ ^{d}A.A *ma-a-ti-ni*(-)*i-ši-i-nu-na-a-ḫi ḫa*[- …]
11′. […] x *a-ḫi-ga a-ga i-šar-ri-wa*$_{a}$-*na-wa*$_{a}$-*ni-ta* x […]
12′. […] x-*an-ti ta-a-na še-e-ri ša-a-li zu*-W[A- …]
13′. […] x-*an-ni ḫu-u-uš-ti a-aḫ-ra zu-up-pa* […]
14′. [… *ni*ʔ]-*ip-ra pa-a-ra a-am-ba-an-ni-ni-wa*$_{a}$ […]
15′. [… (-)*t*]*i-ni a*<-*am*>-*ba-an-ni-ni-pa ḫu-wa-š*[*i* …]

---

§3′ **16′.** […] x *ti-we*$_{e}$-*na* ^{d}É.A-*bi-ni*(-) […]
17′. […]-*e ša-a-iš-ḫi a*-x […]
18′. […] ⌜*un*ʔ⌝-x x […]

CTH 341.II.5

KUB 47.15 (Salvini and Wegner 2004: no. 5)

§1′ **1′.** [*o o o-w*]*u*$_{u}$ʔ[(-) …]

---

§2′ **2′.** [^{d}*En-ki*]-*ta-al ti*[-*i-we*$_{e}$-*na* ^{d}*Gal-ga-mi-šu-ta-al*]
3′. [*a-lu-ma*]-*i-in k*[*a-a-ti-ya* …]
4′. [^{d}*Ḫu-wa*$_{a}$]-*wa*$_{a}$-*a-an i-iš*-x […]
5′. [*an-t*]*i*ʔ *da-a-ḫi ti-š*[*i*ʔ- …]
6′. [o-*p*]*a-la-an-ni* ḪUR.S[AG …]
7′. [*š*]*a-at-te-ta-a-*⌜*ú*⌝ […]
8′. ⌜*u*ʔ⌝-[*u*]*m-ma-še-né-en-n*[*a* …]
9′. [o-*ḫ*]*u-u-um*(-)*bi-bi a-l*[*i*(-) …]
10′. x-*e-ri*(-)*ul-l*[*i* …]
11′. x-*um*ʔ[- …]
12′. [o] x […]

CTH 341.II.6

KUB 47.16 (Salvini and Wegner 2004: no. 44)

§1′ **1′.** […] x x […]
2′. […] x-⌜*a*⌝-*at* x […]
3′. [… *š*]*a-ap-lu-uš* […]
4′. […] x-*ta te-ib-we*$_{e}$ x […]
5′. [… ^{d}U-*ub* ^{URU}*Kum-mi*]-*ni-we*$_{e}$ *da-la-wu*$_{u}$-*ši e*[*b-ri*]
6′. [… -*t*]*a-al a-lu-ma*<-*i*> *ka*$_{4}$-*t*[*i-ya*]
7′. [^{d}U-*ub* ^{URU}*Kum-mi-n*]*i-i-we*$_{e}$ *da-la-wu*$_{u}$-*š*[*i eb-ri*]
8′. [… *ti-we*$_{e}$-*n*]*a ka-ti-u-uš-ši-na*
9′. […] x-*i-nu-wa*$_{a}$-*ta-a-i*
10′. […] *x-ša-an-na-i ḫar*[- …]

---

§2′ **11′.** […] x-⌜*li*⌝ *wa*$_{a}$-*a*[- …]
12′. […] x
13′. […] x-*ar-ra*[(-) …]
14′. […]-*ḫa-ap*

CTH 341.II.7

TC-4F05h (Nakamura 2007)

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§1′ **1′.** *ga-ti-*⌜*bi*⌝ […]
2′. *e-ra-an-b*[*i*? …]
3′. *bi-ir-ri-ib* [… ^{d}U-*ub*]
4′. ^{URU}*Kum-mi-ni-w*[*e*$_{e}$ *da-la-wu*$_{u}$-*ši eb-ri* …]

---

§2′ **5′.** ^{d}*Gal-ga-mi-š*[*u-ul ti-wi*$_{i}$-*na* …]
6′. *a-lu-um-m*[*a-i-in ka-ti-ya* …]

CTH 341.III—HITTITE

Transliterations of much of the Hittite-language material are presented in Laroche 1968: 121–38. Early translations of a few fragments are to be found in Friedrich 1925: 30–32 and Gressmann 1926: 196–98. Studies: Böhl 1957–1971; Friedrich 1961; Bachvarova 2016: 63–76. See also my previous translation, Beckman 2001.

CTH 341.III.1

Tablet 1

A. KUB 8.57 [A_a] (+) KUB 17.2 [A_b] (+) KUB 8.56 [A_c] (+) KBo 26.101 [A_d] (§§1–8)
B. KUB 8.55 [B_a] (+) KUB 33.123 [B_b] (§§10–11, 22–23)
C. KUB 8.51 + Bo 9650 [C_a] (+) KUB 8.53 + KUB 36.73 [C_b] (§§10–11, 18–23)
D. KBo $10.47_{a–h}$ + KBo 10.46 +? KBo 10.48 + KBo 22.93 +? 410/p + KBo 10.48 + KBo 10.40 (§§3–7, 9–17, 18–22)
E. KUB 36.72 [E_a] + KUB 60.14 [E_b] (§§12–15)
F. HT 10 (§20)
G. KBo 19.115 (§24)
H.[73] KBo 19.114 (§§16–18)
At least four separate manuscripts of this tablet are represented here, since B, C, D, and E are all witnesses to §11. Of all of these pieces, D preserves the most lines.

Editions: Friedrich 1930; Otten 1958. Translations: del Monte 2004: 295–300.

A_a i **1.** ˹*wa*˺*-al-l*[*a**-*aḫ-ḫi*]-˹*ya-an* ^{d}˺G[IŠ.GIM].˹MAŠ˺[-*un* …]
§1 **2.** ˹UR˺.SAG-*in* [*iš-ḫa-mi-iḫ-ḫi*]

---

§2 **3.** ˹*ša*˺*-am-ni-ya-an-ta-an* UR.SAG-*iš* ^{d}˹É˺[.A *ša-am-ni-ya-at*?]
4. ˹^{d}˺GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*un* ALAM-*an ša-am-ni-ir-ma* [*šal-la-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*uš*]
5. ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*un* ALAM*-*an* ^{d}UTU *ŠA-ME-E-iš-š*[*i* LÚ-*na-tar*]
6. [*p*]*a*[74]*-a-iš* ^{d}U-*aš-ma-aš-ši* UR.SAG-*tar pa-a-iš š*[*a-am-ni-ir-ma*]
7. *šal-la-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*uš* ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*un* ALAM-*ši pá*[*r-ga-aš-ti*]
8. 11 *AM-MA-TU*$_4$ GAB-*ma-aš-ši pal-ḫa-a-aš-ti* 9 *w*[*a-ak-šur*]
9. [^{U}]^{ZU}ḪAR*-*ni-uš-ma-aš-ši da-lu-ga-aš-ti 3* [*AM-MA-TU*?]

---

§3 **10.** [*nu*] KUR.KUR.˹MEŠ˺ *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta ú-e-ḫe-eš-ki-iz-z*[*i na-aš-kán*]
11. [(^{URU}*U*-)]*ra*[75]*-ga* URU-*ri a-ar-aš na-aš-za-kán* ˹*e*˺[-*ša-at*?]

---

73. This fragment perhaps joins indirectly with col. iii of text C.
74. Coll. Friedrich 1930: 2 n. 3.
75. D_a i 1′: -*ru*-.

12. [(*nu-za*)] UD.KAM-*ti-li ŠA* ^{URU}*U-ra-ga* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$G[URUŠ-*uš*?]
13. [(*tar-aḫ-ḫ*)]*i-iš-ki-u-wa-an*[76] *da-a-iš nu* DINGIR.MA[ḪI ...]
14. [(*na-aš-kán* ^{d})]⌜GIŠ.GIM⌝.MAŠ-*aš*[77] IM*.MEŠ-*aš an-d*[*a* ...]
D$_a$ i **5′.** DINGIR.⌜MAḪ-*aš-ma*⌝ [*kat-t*]*a*?-*an a-uš-t*[*a* ...]
6′. ⌜*na-aš*⌝[-*za* o o o o Š]À-⌜*BI-iš*⌝-*š*[*i ka*]*r*-⌜*tim-mi*⌝[-*ya-at-ta-at*]

---

§4 **7′.** *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *ḫu-u-m*[*a-an-te-eš* DINGIR.MAḪ-*an* o o *p*]*ár-ra-an-ta*
8′. *tu-li-ya-aš p*[*é-di ḫal-zi-e-er na-aš an-da-a*]*n pa-it nu* [*te-et*?]
9′. *u-ni-in-wa ku-*[*in* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*un š*]*a-am-ni-ya-at-t*[*e-en*]
10′. *nu am-mu-uk* [*ku-in* o o o o *š*]*a-am-ni-ya-nu-u*[*n*]
11′. ⌜*na-an*-x⌝ [... *a*]*n-da im-mi-y*[*a-nu-un*?]
D$_c$ i **1′.** [*nu* DINGIR.ME]Š *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-e*[*š* ...]
2′. [UR.SAG-*i*]*n* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.<MAŠ>-*un*-x [...]
3′. [^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*u*]*š-ša-wa* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GU[RUŠ *ŠA* ^{URU}*U-ra-ga*? ... (x x-*ša-it*)]
4′. [GIM-*an-ma-a*]*š e-né-eš-ša-ša-a*[*n iš-t*(*a-ma-aš-ta nu-kán* DINGIR.M)AḪ-*a*]*š*
5′. [o ÍD?-*a*]*z-za mi-ya*!-*tar* [(*ar-ḫa da-a-aš na-aš-ká*)*n i-y*]*a-an-né-eš*
6′. [o o o U]R.SAG-*in* ^{d}*E*[(*n-ki-*)*du-un*[78] (LÍL-*ri an-da š*)*a-a*]*m-ni-ya-at*

---

§5 **7′.** [*nu-kán* U]R.SAG-*iš* ^{d}*En-ki-*[*du-uš*[79] (LÍL-*ri an-d*)]*a*
8′. [*na-an* MÁŠ].ANŠE.ḪI.A *šal-la-nu-u*[(*š-kán-zi nu-uš-ši* x) ...]
9′. ⌜*i*⌝-[*ya-an*]-*zi nu ku-e-ez* MÁ[(Š.ANŠE.ḪI.A *ú-e-ši-*)*ya-u-wa-an-zi*]
10′. *i-y*[*a-an*]-*ta-ri* ^{d}*En-ki-d*[*u-u*(*š-ša*<-*aš*>-*ma-aš-ta*) GAM-*an i-ya-at-ta-ri*]
11′. *š*[*a-ak-r*]*u-wa-u-wa-an-zi-ya* [*ku-e-ez i-ya-an-ta-ri*]
12′. [^{d}*En-k*]*i-du-ša-aš-ma-aš* GAM-*a*[*n i-ya-at-ta-ri*]

---

§6 **13′.** [*nu*] ⌜^{m}⌝*Ša-an-ga-šu-uš* ^{LÚ}G[URUŠ ^{LÚ}*ṢA-I-DU* LÍL-*ri an-da*]
14′. *A-NA* MÁŠ.ANŠE.ḪI.A *ʾak-ku-u*[*š-ša ʾag-ga-ti-uš-ša*]
15′. *tar-né-eš*[80]-*ki-iz-zi* ^{d}*E*[*n-ki-du-uš-ma-aš-ši pí-ra-an*]
16′. *i-ya-at-ta-ri nu-k*[(*án*) *ʾak-ku-uš-ša* SAḪAR.ḪI.A-*az*]
17′. *ša-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-z*[(*i ʾag-*)*ga-ti-uš-ma ku-i-e-eš tar-né-eš-ki-mi*]
18′. *na-aš-kán* ÍD-⌜*i*⌝ [(*an-da i*)*š-ḫu-u-wa-iš-ki-iz-zi* (^{m}*Ša-an-ga-šu-uš-ma*)]
19′. *pa-it nu A-N*[*A* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ (*me-mi**-*iš-ki-iz-zi*)]
20′. ^{LÚ}GURUŠ-*an*-[*za-wa am-mu-uk p*]*í-r*[(*a-an i-ya-at-ta-ri*)]
21′. *nu-wa-aš-š*[*i*] x x x [o]-*iš nu-wa-kán* [(*gi-im-ra-an*) *ša-ak-ki*?]
22′. ⌜*nu-wa*⌝ [(*ʾ*)]*ak-ku-uš-ša*[81] *ku-e am-mu-u*[*k tar-né-eš-ki-mi*]
23′. [(*a-pa-a*)]-*aš-ma-*<*wa-*>*ra-at-kán*[82] SAḪAR.ḪI.A-*a*[*z ša-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi*]
24′. [(*ʾag-*)]*ga-ti-uš-ma-wa ku-i-e-e*[*š tar-né-eš-ki-mi*]
25′. ⌜*a*⌝-*pa-a-aš-ma-aš*[83] *ša-ra-a d*[*a-a-i n*(*u-wa-ra-aš-ká*)*n* ÍD-*i an-da*]
26′. ⌜*iš*⌝-*ḫu-u-wa-iš-ki-iz-z*[(*i*)]

---

76. -*u-wa-an* over erasure.
77. D$_a$ i 4′: -*uš*.
78. A$_b$ i 4′: ⌜^{d}⌝*En-ki-ta-an.*
79. A$_b$ i 5′: ^{d}*En-ki-ta-aš.*
80. A$_c$ i 2′: -*ni-iš-.*
81. A$_c$ i 10′: *ʾak-ku-*<*uš-*>*ša.*
82. A$_c$ i 11′: -*ma-at-kán.*
83. A$_c$ i 13′: *a-pa-a-aš-ma-wa-ra*[-.

§7 **27′.** [*nu* (^{d}GI)]Š.GIM.MAŠ-*uš A-NA* [^{m}*Ša-an-ga-šu* (^{LÚ}*ṢA-I-DU* EGIR-*pa*)]
28′. [*me-m*]*i-*⌜*iš*⌝*-ki-wa-an* [*da-a-iš nu-wa-aš-ši* (^{MUNUS}KAR.KID)]
29′. [(*pé-e*)]-⌜*ḫu*⌝*-te nu-w*[*a-aš IT-TI* ^{MUNUS}KAR.KI(D *še-eš-du*)]
30′. [^{d}*En-ki-d*]*u-uš*[*-wa … pa-r*(*a-a gi-nu-uš-ša-ri*)*-ya-ad-du*]
A$_{d}$ **6′.** [*nu A-NA* ^{d}*En-ki-du … ^{m}Ša-an*]*-ga-šu-uš*[84] ^{MUNUS}KAR[.KID *pé-e-ḫu-te-et*?]
7′. [*na-aš IT-TI* ^{MUNUS}KAR.KID *še*]*-eš-ta*

---

§8
A$_{d}$ **8′.** […] ⌜*ku*?*-it*?⌝*-k*[*i …]*
D$_{d}$ **2′.** [… ^{MUNUS}KAR.KID *A-N*]*A* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$ *me-m*[*a-i …]*
3′. [*A-NA* ^{URU}*U-ra-ga-wa*] *pa-a-i-u-e-ni nu-wa-z*[*a …]*
(gap of approximately two lines)
§9
D$_{f}$ ii **1′.** [… *-w*]*a-a*[*š*?]
2′. [… *-u*]*š*?
3′. [… ^{d}*En-k*]*i-<du>-uš*
4′. [… *-t*]*a*? *nu* ^{d}*En-ki-du-uš*
5′. [… ^{TÚG}NÍG.]LÁM.MEŠ *ḫar-ta*
6′. […] ⌜x.ḪI.A⌝*-aš-ši* […]
(gap of uncertain length)
§10
C$_{a}$ ii **1′.** *traces*
2′. [… ^{URU}*U*]-⌜*ru-ga*⌝ URU-*ri* x […]
3′. […]*-ši ḫa-lu-ga-aš iš*-x[- …]
B$_{a}$ obv. **1′.** [*nu* ^{m}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$*-uš A-NA* ^{f}(*Ša-an-ḫa-du* EG)]IR-*pa me-mi-i*[*š-ki-iz-zi*]
2′. [o o o o o o o *ḫa-tu*]-⌜*ú-ga-aš*⌝[85] *nu* ^{f}*Ša-an-ḫa*[*-du-uš*]
3′. [*A-NA* ^{m}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$ EGIR-*pa me*]*-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.[MAŠ-*ma-wa*]
4′. [o o o o o o o *pé*]-⌜*e*⌝*-ḫu-te-eš*[86]*-kán-zi* ^{LÚ}GURUŠ-*an-t*[*i-ma-wa*]
5′. [GIM-*an* MUNUS-(*an pí-a*)]*n-zi nu-wa-aš-ši ku-it-ma-an*
6′. [^{LÚ}*MU-DI-ŠA*? (*ma-ni*)]*-in-ku-u*[87]*-wa-an na-a-wi*$_{5}$ *pa-*⌜*iz*⌝[*-zi*]
7′. [*nu-wa a-pu-u-un* MUNUS-*a*]*n A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ[88] EGIR-*an ar-ḫa* x […]

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§11 **8′.** [GIM-*an-ma* ^{d}*En-ki*]*-du*$_{4}$*-uš u-ni-in me-mi-ya-an iš-ta*[*-ma-aš-ta*]
9′. [*nu-uš-ši kar-tim-mi*]*-ya-az ki-ša-at nu* ^{d}GIŠ.⌜GIM⌝.[MAŠ- …]
10′. [o o o o o o] x *pí-ra-an* EGIR-⌜*pa it*?⌝-x […]
11′. [o o o o o o] x-⌜*ta na*⌝-[… (-*a*[89]) … -*p*(*a*[90])]
C$_{a}$ ii **14′.** [… ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$[91]-(*uš-ša*) *me-mi-i*]*š-kán-zi*
15′. […] *e-ep-ta*

---

84. Text: *-un*.
85. C$_{a}$ ii 5′: ⌜BÚN⌝*-aš*
86. C$_{a}$ ii 7′: *-iš-*.
87. C$_{a}$ ii 9′ omits.
88. Text: PA.
89. D$_{g}$ ii 1′.
90. C$_{a}$ ii 14′.
91. D$_{g}$ ii 2′: *-d*]*u-*.

16′. […]
17′. […]
18′. [… -*š*/*t*]*a*

(gap of perhaps two lines)

D$_g$ ii **9′.** ˹*nam-ma-aš*˺-*š*[*a-an* … -*p*]*i*? ˹*ḫu-u-da-ak*˺

---

§12 **10′.** [… (^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*u*)]*š* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$-*u*[*š-ša*] *ap-pa-an-ta-ti*[92]
11′. [(*nu* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš*)] ^{d}*En-*˹*ki-du*$_4$*-na*˺ *ar-ḫa*
12′.[93] [… ^{L}(*^{Ú}A-WI-LIM*? ^{LÚ}*a-ra-an*) *ku-wa-aš-z*]*i*[94]
14′. [*nu* G(IM-*an e-*)*t*(*e-er e-ku-er*) *nu* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*u*]*š A-*˹*NA*˺ ^{d}*En-ki-du*[95]
15′. [(EGIR-*pa me-mi-eš-ki-u-wa-an*) *da-a-iš* GI(Š?.MEŠ-*wa*)]-*kán k*[(*u-i*)]*t*
16′. [(*šal-li-iš-ta*) o o o o *gi-im-r*(*i* an-da ú-e-ḫe-e*)]*š*[96]-*ki-it*
17′. [… *g*(*i-im-ri nu* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$-*u*)]*š*
18′. [*A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ EGIR-*pa me-mi*(-*iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a*)]-˹*iš*˺
19′. [… (x x x)[97] … .Ḫ]I.A-*uš-ma-wa-za*
20′. […] x
21′. [… ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-w*]*a-in*
22′. [… *nu* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš* LU]GAL-*uš*
23′. [*A-NA* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$ … EGIR-*pa me-mi*]-*iš-ki-u-wa-an da*[-*a-iš*]
24′. [… *n*]*a*?-*aš I-NA* EGIR[(.UD.KAM)]
25′. [… (-*u-e-n*)]*i*

---

§13
E$_b$ **5′.** […] ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ KARAŠ.Ḫ.A
6′. [^{URU}*U-ra-ga … ta-r*]*u-up-ta-*˹*at**˺
7′. [… -*a*]*n-zi nu-za* EZEN-*an i-ya-at*
8′. [*tu-li-ya-aš-ma-kán pé-di* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ḫu-u-m*]*a-*˹*an-te-eš*˺ *ḫal-za-a-iš*
9′. [… ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš A-NA*] ˹ÉRIN.Ḫ.I*.A* EGIR-*pa*˺ *me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an*
10′. [*da-a-iš … -wa …*] ˹^{d}*Ḫu*˺-*wa-wa-an ú*?-*wa-al-lu*˺

(gap of about ten lines)[98]

§14
E$_a$ iii **1′.** […] *x* […]

---

§15 **2′.** […] x-*ta-ti* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MA[Š-*uš* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$-*uš-ša*]
3′. […] x *pa-a-ir nu-uš-ma-aš-k*[*án* 2]0 DANNA
4′. [*e-te-er* 30 D]ANNA-*ma-*˹*kán*˺ [*š*]*e-*˹*e*˺-*šu-w*[*a*?-*an-zi* …] x-*ki*
D$_g$ iii **2′.** [… *nu*] GIM-*an I-NA* ^{ÍD}*Ma-la* NUNDUM-*ši*
3′. [*e-ri-ir A-NA* DINGIR.MEŠ-*m*]*a*!? SÍSKUR *pí-e-er a-pé-e-ez-za ma*-x[- …]
4′. [… *I-NA* UD.1]6?.KAM ŠÀ Ḫ.UR.SAG.MEŠ *e-ri-ir*

---

92. E$_a$ ii 2′: -*š*/*t*]*a*.
93. Reconstruction here assumes that no line of text has been lost between D$_g$ ii 12′ and 14′. Numbering therefore omits line 13′.
94. Erasure follows.
95. E$_a$ ii 5′: -˹*du*$_4$˺.
96. E$_a$ ii 7′: -*iš*-.
97. About 4 lines lost between E$_a$ and E$_b$.
98. FC.1 may belong here.

§16 **5′.** [*nu* GIM-*an* … Š]À ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ *e-ri-ir nu* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ
6′. [… -*an-zi* ^{GI}]^{Š}ERIN-*ma-aš-ma-aš ša-ku-uš-kán-z*[*i*]
7′. [*nu-za-aš* o o o -*az* ^{d}*Ḫu-w*]*a-wa-iš kat-ta ša-ku-uš-ki-i*[*z-zi*]
8′. [… -*wa A-NA*] *AŠ-RI*$^{HI.A}$ *ŠA* DINGIR^{LIM} *ku-it* [*e-ri-ir*]
9′. [… *Š*]*A* DINGIR^{LIM} ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*ma-wa*
10′. [… *kar-šu-wa-an-zi*$^{?}$] *kar-ap-pa-an ḫar-kán-zi*
11′. [*nu* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$*-uš* ^{d}GI]Š.GIM.MAŠ-*uš-ša me-mi-iš-kán-zi*
12′. [o o o o o o o o -*wa*]-*kán Ú-*^{r}*UL*$^{\urcorner}$ *a-aš-ši-ya-an-te-eš* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*uš*
13′. [o o *IŠ-TU* ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*w*]*a* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-[*u*]*š wa-ar-ḫu-u-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi*
14′. [*nu-wa-ra-at* o o o] *la-ap-pí-ni-*^{r}*it*$^{\urcorner}$ *ar-ša-an-te-eš*[99]
15′. [*nu-wa A-NA* DUMU.LÚ].U$_{19}$.LU *pár-ra-an-*[*t*]*a pa-a-u-wa-an-zi*
16′. [*Ú-UL ki-ša-r*]*i ŠA* ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*y*[*a*-wa-ká*]*n*$^{?}$ ^{GIŠ}*al-kiš-ta-nu-uš*
17′. [o] x-*aš ḫar-kán-zi nu-wa-r*[*a*-at*$^{?}$ …] ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*aš iš-tar-na*
18′. [EGIR$^{?}$]-^{r}*pa*$^{?\urcorner}$-*ma-aš IŠ-TU* K[A$^{?}$ o o *ma-u*]*š-kat-ta-ri*
19′. [o o o o o]-^{r}*it*$^{?}$-*ti*$^{\urcorner}$-*ya a*-x [o] x[100] ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa*
20′. [(*i-wa-ar* ^{LÚ}NAR *o*]-x-^{r}*iš*$^{?\urcorner}$ [*ḫa-a*]*z-zi-ik-kán-zi*

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§17
H **6′.** *nu* GIM-*an* ^{d}GIŠ.^{r}PAN$^{\urcorner}$.MAŠ [*ŠA* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-w*(*a úr-ki-in*)]
7′. *a-uš-ta* ^{r}*na*$^{\urcorner}$*-aš im*[-o o o o *a-a*(*r-aš*)]
8′. *na-an na-*^{r}*aḫ*$^{\urcorner}$[-*ta*] x […]
9′. *nu* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$[101]*-uš* [*A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ *me-mi-iš-ki-wa-a*(*n*)]
10′. ^{r}*da-iš*[102] *ku*$^{\urcorner}$*-wa-at-wa* [… *nu-uš-ši-wa-kán*$^{?}$]
11′. [*k*]*u-wa-at-ta* IGI-*an*[-*da* … *A-NA* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa-ma*$^{?}$]
12′. [G]AM-*an Ú-UL ar-t*[*a-ti*$^{?}$ *ma-a-an-ma-w*(*a-mu*) …]
13′. ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa-iš me-na-a*[*ḫ-ḫa-an-da* …]
14′. *nu*<-*wa*> UN-*aš me-ek-ki ḫ*[*a-* …]
15′. *nu-wa-ra-aš ma-a-an* x […]
16′. *nu-wa-ra-aš-kán an-za-a*[-*aš* …]
17′. *ḫa-aš-te*$^{\urcorner}$*-li-ya-an-z*[*a* …][103]

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§18[104] **18′.** [*nu-uš-m*]*a*$^{?}$*-aš ku-iš ḫa*[- …]
19′. [o o o o ^{d}]^{r}*En*$^{\urcorner}$*-k*[*i-du*$_{4}$- …]

(short gap)

C$_{a}$ iii **1′.** […] *ne-pí-ša-a*[*z*$^{?}$]
2′. [… S]AG*-*ŠU*
3′. […]

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99. The first three very fragmentary lines of H presumably parallel D iii 16′–18′ but cannot be placed—1′: […] ^{r}EN$^{?\urcorner}$ […], 2′: […] x-*tar*[(-) …], 3′: […]-*iš* x […].

100. H:4′: [o]-x-x(-)*mi-ti-i*[*t*(-).

101. D$_{g}$ iii 24′: -*d*]*u*$^{?}$-.

102. D$_{g}$ iii 25′: *da-a-iš*.

103. The few remaining signs in D$_{f}$ (KBo 10.47f)— 1′: […]-x-*a* […], 2′: […]-*na*$^{?}$*-an* —probably belong to §§17 and 18, respectively, but cannot be placed more closely.

104. D iii 1′: [… *n*]*u*$^{?}$*-za*$^{?}$ […] probably belongs somewhere in this paragraph.

§19 **4′.** [*nu* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$*-uš* o o o]*-aš*$^{?}$ *šum-mi-it-ta-an-ta-an*[105] ŠU*-az e-ep-t*[*a*]
5′. [o o o o o o o o ^{d}GI]Š.GIM.MAŠ[106]*-ma* GIM*-an*[107]
6′. [o o o o *a-uš-t*(*a*$^{?}$ *nu*)] *a-pu*-uš-ša*[108] *ḪA-AṢ-<ṢÍ->IN-NU*[109]
7′. [o o o o o o o ŠU*-az*] *e-ep-ta*
8′. [*nu-kán a-pa-a-*(*aš-ša* ^{GIŠ}ERIN)] *kar-aš-ta*
9′. [GIM*-an-ma* ^{d}]⌜*Ḫu*⌝[*-wa-wa-i*(*š*)] *ta-ḫa-ra-an iš-ta-ma-aš-ta*
10′. [*nu-u*(*š-ši*) *ka*]*r-tim-mi-*⌜*ya-za*⌝ *ki-ša-*⌜*at*⌝ *ku-iš-wa ú*[*-it*]
11′. [*ku-i-eš*$^{?}$ *a*]*m-me-el šal-la-nu-w*[*a*]*-an-ta-t*[*i* Ḫ]UR.SAG.MEŠ*-aš*
12′. [(*i*)*š-tar-n*]*a nu-kán* ^{GIŠ}ERIN [*k*]*ar-aš-ta*

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§20 **13′.** [(*nu*)]*-wa-aš-ma-<<ma>>-aš-kán*[110] *ne-pí-š*[*a-a*]*z kat-ta-a*[*n*]
14′. ⌜^{d}⌝UTU *ŠA-ME-E me-mi-iš-ki-iz*[(*-z*)]*i* ⌜*ti*⌝*-ya-at-t*[*én-wa*]
15′. [(*l*)]*e-e-wa na-*⌜*aḫ*⌝*-te-e-ni*[111] *n*[*u-wa an-da*]
16′. *i-ya-an-ni-ya-at-tén ku-i*[(*t-ma-an-wa-ra-aš-kán*)]
17′. É*-ri an-da na-a-wi*$_{5}$ *pa-iz*[*-zi … na-a-wi*$_{5}$ …]
18′. *nu-wa-za* ⌃*gal*[112]*-pa-*⌜*ri-wa*⌝*-la na*[*-a-wi*$_{5}$ … GIM*-an-ma* …]
19′. *iš-dam*[113]*-ma-aš*[(*-t*)]*a* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_{4}$[114]*-uš* [*nu-uš-ši kar-tim-mi-ya-az*]
20′. *ki-ša-at nu-uš-ši-kán* ^{d}*En*[(*-ki*)*-du*$_{4}$*-uš*]
21′. ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ*-uš-ša an-da i-ya*[(*-an-nir*)]
22′. *nu* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa-in* ⌜*ḫal*⌝*-lu-wa-a*[*n-zi*]
D$_{c}$ iv **16.** Ḫ UR.SAG.MEŠ*-aš-kán iš-tar-na nu-uš-ma-aš-*[*kán* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa-iš*]
17. *me-mi-iš-ki-*⌜*iz*⌝*-zi ša-ra-a-*⌜*wa*⌝*-aš-ma-a*[(*š l*)*i*$^{?}$*- … -mi*$^{?}$]
18. *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-*⌜*kán*⌝ *ne-pí-ši* ⌜*ša*⌝*-ra-a pé-*⌜*e*⌝[(*-da-aḫ-ḫ*)]*i*
19. ⌃*tar-ša-ma-aš-*[*m*]*a-aš wa-la-aḫ-mi nu-uš-ma-aš-k*[(*án*) GAM*-an*[115]]
20. *da-an-ku-wa-i*[116] [*ták-n*]*i-i ar-nu-mi*
21. *ša-ra-a-aš-<ma-aš>*[117] *t*[*a-* o o o *-š*/*t*]*a na-aš ne-pí*[*-ši ša-ra-a* (*Ú-UL*) *pé-e-da-aš*][118]
22. ⌃[119]*tar-ša-ma-aš wa*[*-al-aḫ-ta*[120] *n*]*a-aš-kán* GAM*-an*[121] [(*da-an-ku-i t*)*ák-ni-i*][122]
23. *Ú-UL ar-nu-ut* [(*e-ep-p*)]*ir*[123] ^{d} *Ḫu-wa*[(*-wa-i*)*n*][124]
24. *nu te-e-ta*[125]*-ni-i*[(*t* Ḫ UR.SAG.M)EŠ(*-ša*$^{?}$) o*-d*]*u*$^{?}$*-un-ni*[*r*]

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105. D$_{f}$ iii 2′: [… *-t*]*a-an.*
106. Erasure follows.
107. D$_{d}$ iv 1: *-š*/*t*]*a* GIM*-an-ma* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.<MAŠ>*-u*[*š.*
108. D$_{d}$ iv 2: *a-pa-a-aš-ša.*
109. D$_{d}$ iv 2: *ḪA-AṢ-ṢÍ-I*[*N-.*
110. Sic!; D$_{c}$ iv 8: *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán.*
111. D$_{d}$ iv 10: *na-aḫ-te*[*-ni.*
112. D$_{c}$ iv 8: ⌃*kal-.*
113. D$_{c}$ iv 13: *-ta-.*
114. D$_{c}$ iv 13: *-du-.*
115. F:4′ omits.
116. F:5′: *da-an-ku-*⌜*i*⌝.
117. C$_{b}$ iv 2′ adds *–ma-aš.*
118. F:6′: *Ú-UL ar-nu-nu-un.*
119. F:6′ omits.
120. F:7′ adds *nu*]*-mu* ^{NA_4}*pé-e-ru-na-aš* GÌR*-an* [; C$_{b}$ iv 3′: ^{NA_4}]⌜*pé-ru-na-aš*$^{?}$ GÌR-[*a*]*n* IGI-⌜*an*⌝-[*da*].
121. F:8′ omits adverb.
122. C$_{b}$ iv 4′:] GE$_{6}$*-i* KI*-pí* GAM-⌜*an-da*⌝; F:8′: *nu-u*]*š-ma-aš-kán da-an-ku-i t*[*ák-.*
123. F:9′:] *Ú-UL ar-nu-nu-un e-ep-p*[*é-er.*
124. F:10′: *-w*]*a*⌝*-wa.*
125. F:10′: *-da-.*

25. *nam-ma-<<wa*[126]*>>-aš-ma-aš-k*[(*án ZU-U-TÙ ku-i*)]*š ar-ḫ*[*a wa*(*-a*)*r**-*š*(*i**-*ya**)-*az-zi*]
26. *nu* ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A[127]-*uš*-x[128] [(*pa-aš-ke-eš-kán*)-*tu-uš*] *ar-ri-ya-an*[(<-*ta*>-*ti*)]
27. SAḪAR.ḪI.A-*uš-ma ku-i-u*[*š*?[129] (*a-ri*)-*i*]*š-kán-ta-ri*[130]
28. *nu ne-pí-iš* ˹*Ú*˺[(-*UL tu-u*)]*k-ki-iš*[131]-*zi nu-za*[(-*kán* ᵈGIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*uš*)]
29. ᵈUTU *ŠA-ME-*˹*E*˺ [(ᴳᴵŠŠÚ).A(-*an š*)]*a-ra-a a-uš-ta*
30. [(*n*)]*a-aš ú-i*[(-*iš-ki-iz-zi*) o o o-*a*(*z-z*)]*a-*˹*ma*˺*-kán ŠA* [(ᵈUTU *ŠA-ME-E*)]
31. [(*an-d*)]*a a-u*[*š*(-*ta nu-uš-ši-kán iš-ḫa*)]-*aḫ-ru* P[(A_5).ḪI.A-*uš*][132]
32. [G(IM-*an a*)*r-ši-y*]*a-a*[*n*˹-*z*]*i*

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§21
C_b iv **15′.** *nu* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*aš A-NA* ᵈUTU *ŠA-ME-E m*[*e-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*]
16′. *ka-a-aš-wa a-pa-a-aš* UD.KAM-*za I-NA* URU-*ri* […]
17′. *ku-it* URU-*ri* EGIR-*pa a-še-ša-nu-ut* […]

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§22 **18′.** *am-mu-uk*˹-*ma-za-kán A-NA* ᵈUTU *Š*[*A-M*]*E-E* x […]
19′. *nu* KASKAL-*an e-ep-pu-un na*[-*an*? *z*]*a-aḫ-ḫa-*<*ya*>-˹*az*?˺ […]
20′. [*n*]*u** ˹ᵈ*˺[UT]U ˹*ŠA*˺*-ME-E Š*[*A* ᵈ]GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *ar-ku-wa*[-*ar*]
21′. *iš-ta-ma-aš-*˹*ta*˺ *nu A-NA* ᵈ*Ḫu-wa-wa* IM[.MEŠ-*uš*]
22′. GAL.MEŠ-*iš a-ra-iz-zi* IM.GAL [ᴵ]ᴹ*EL-TA-NU* [ᴵᴹ*ŠA-DU-Ú* ᴵᴹ*A-MUR-RU*]
23′. ᴵᴹ*ZI-IQ-ZI-QÚ*˹ ᴵᴹ*ŠU-RU-UP-PU-U* [ᴵ]ᴹ*A-Š*[*A-AM-ŠU-TU*]
24′. ᴵᴹ*AN-ḪU-UL-LU* 8 IM.MEŠ-*aš-ši* ˹*a*˺*-ra-a-ir nu-kán* ˹*A*˺[-*NA* ᵈ*Ḫu-wa-wa*]
25′. IGI.ḪI.A-*wa* EGIR-*pa wa-al-ḫi-i*[*š-k*]*án-zi*
26′. *nu-uš-ši Ú-UL pa-ra-a* ˹*i*˺[-*y*]*a-an-ni-ya-u-wa-a*[*n-zi*]
27′. *ki-ša-ri*[133] *Ú-UL-*˹*ma*˺*-aš-ši* EGIR-*pa ti*[-(*ya*)-*u-wa-an-zi*]
28′. *ki-ša-ri nu-za* ᵈ*Ḫu-wa-wa-iš ar-ḫa da*[(-*a-li*)-*ya-at*]

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§23 **29′.** *nu* ᵈ*Ḫu-wa-wa-iš A-NA* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ EGIR-*pa me-mi*[(-*iš-ki-iz*)-*zi*]
30′. *ar-ḫa-wa-mu da-a-li* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *nu*[134]-*mu-za zi-i*[(*k* EN-*aš e-eš*)]
31′. *am-mu-uk-ma-ad-du-za* ARAD-*iš e-eš-lu-ut n*[*u*]-*u*[*t-t*(*a* <ᴳᴵŠ>ERIN˹.MEŠ)]
32′. [(*k*)]*u-i-e-eš šal-la-nu-uš-ki-nu-un nu-*˹*ut*˺[-*ta* …]
33′. [*d*]*a-aš-ša*<-*mu*>-*uš* ˹*pu-ul-pu-li-i*[-*uš* …]
34′. [*k*]*ar-aš-mi nu-za* ᴱ.ᴹᴱŠ˹*ḫa*˺*-l*[*e-en-tu-wa* …]
35′. [*n*]*u* ᵈ*En-ki-du*$_4$-*uš A-N*[*A* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-ut-ta*]
36′. ˹ᵈ˺*Ḫu-wa-wa-iš* ˹*ku*˺*-in m*[*e-mi-ya-an me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*]
37′. *na-an le-e iš-t*[*a-ma-aš-ti* …]
38′. [*l*]*e-e* ᵈ*Ḫu-wa-w*[*a-in ar-ḫa da-li-ya-ši* …]
39′. [*n*]*u*? ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ[-*aš*? *an-da*? …][135]

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126. F:11′: -*w*]*a*?-.
127. F:12′: MEŠ.
128. F:12′ omits final sign; 3D image on KhT (295/q) does not appear to show traces of a sign.
129. F:13′: *ku-i*]-*e-eš*.
130. F:13′: *a-re-eš-kat-ta-ri*; C_b iv 9′: *a-r*[*a*?-.
131. F:14′: -*eš*-.
132. C_b iv 14′: ˹PA_5[; gloss wedges possibly erased.
133. *Ú-UL* in erasure precedes; following *Ú-UL* over erasure.
134. B_b:4′ inserts -*wa*-.
135. Colophons of D: D_a iv bottom: D[UB.1.KAM] / ˹SÌR˺ *ŠA* ᵈG[IŠ.GIM.MAŠ]; D_c LeE: ŠU ᵐ*I-bi-iz-zi*.

(short gap)

§24

G **1′.** [^{d}]*En-ki-du*$_4$-[*uš-ma A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ EGIR-*pa*]
2′. *me-mi-iš-ki*[*-u-wa-an da-a-iš … -wa …*]
3′. *QA-TAM-MA* x [… *-wa …*]
4′. *tu-e-el* ˹^{d}˺[GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*aš …*]
5′. *nu-wa ku-it-m*[*a-an-ma-wa-ra-aš-kán* É-*ri an-da*]
6′. ˹*na*˺-*a-ú-i pa-i*[*z-zi …*]
7′. *pa-a-ši*[136]

Tablet 1

§1 [Of Gilgamesh], the hero, [I will sing his praises …]

§2 The hero [Ea(?) fashioned] the frame of the creature Gilgamesh. [The great gods] fashioned the frame of Gilgamesh. The Sun-god of Heaven lent him [manliness]. The Storm-god lent him heroic qualities. The great gods [created] Gilgamesh: His body was eleven cubits [in height]; his breast was nine [spans] in breadth; his beard(?)was three [cubits(?)] in length.

§3 He wandered around all the lands. He came to the city of Uruk and he [settled] down. Then every day he overpowered the [young] men of Uruk. And the Mother-goddess […] Then she […] in the winds(?) of Gilgamesh. The Mother-goddess looked down(?) […], and she [became angry] in her heart […]

§4 Then all the gods [summoned the Mother-goddess] over to [the place] of assembly. She entered and [said], "This [Gilgamesh] whom you created, and [whom] I created—[I(?)] mixed in […] for him(?)." [And] all the [gods … heroic] Gilgamesh [… said, "Gilgamesh is continually overpowering the young] men [of Uruk." When she] heard this, then the Mother-[goddess] took the power of growth from [the river(?)] and went off to create the hero Enkidu in the steppe.

§5 The hero Enkidu was in the steppe, [and] the wild beasts raised [him. They made …] for him […] And in whatever direction the wild beasts went [for] grazing, Enkidu [went with] them. [In whatever direction they went] for watering, Enkidu [went] with them.

§6 The [young] man Shangashu, [a hunter], used to prepare pits [and traps in the steppe] for the wild beasts, [but Enkidu] went out [before him] and kept stopping up [the pits with earth]. And he [kept throwing] into the river [the traps that he had set]. Shangashu went and spoke [to Gilgamesh], "A young man is going around before [me]. He possesses […], and [he knows] the steppe. [He always stops up] with earth the pits that I [prepare], and he [takes] up and keeps throwing [into the river] the traps that [I have set]."

§7 Gilgamesh replied to Shangashu, [the hunter], "Lead out a prostitute [to him], so that he might sleep [with the prostitute. Let Enkidu] kneel [… to her(?)!" … Then] Shangashu [led] the prostitute [… out to Enkidu. And he] slept [with the prostitute].

(short gap)

§8 [… The prostitute] says to Enkidu, [" … to Uruk] let us go, and [… " …]

(short gap)

§9 […] And Enkidu […] had the festive [garments …] the […] to him […]

(gap)

§10 […] to the city of Uruk […] the message […] to him/her [… Then Enkidu] replied [to Shanhatu], "A frightening […]." And Shanhatu replied [to Enkidu], "They keep taking away [the young women] <to?>

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136. Erased?

Gilgamesh. [When a woman] is given in marriage to a young man, before [her husband] has yet drawn near to her, [they] discretely(?) [take(?) that woman] to Gilgamesh."

§11 [When] Enkidu heard this report, [anger] came over [him]. And Gilgamesh [...] back and forth [...] he went(?) [... Gilgamesh] and [Enkidu... One] grabbed [the other ...]

(short gap)

§12 Furthermore, [...] immediately [...] Gilgamesh [and Enkidu] grappled with one another, and Gilgamesh [cast(?) Enkidu] out. [Then] they [kissed(?)] one another. [And] when they had eaten and drunk, [then Gilgamesh] spoke to Enkidu, "Because the trees(?) have grown tall, [...]. You(!) wandered about [in the steppe(?) ...] in the steppe(?)." Then Enkidu spoke [to Gilgamesh, " ... Huwawa ... " And Gilgamesh], the king, replied [to Enkidu, "...] in the future [... let us ...]"

§13 The fighting men [of Uruk ...] gathered [to] Gilgamesh [...] They [...] And he prepared a feast, summoning all [the soldiers to the place of assembly. ... Gilgamesh] spoke [to] the soldiers, "[...] I want to see Huwawa!"

(gap)

§14 [...]

§15 [...] Gilgamesh [and Enkidu] went [to ...] At twenty leagues [they fed] themselves. At thirty leagues [they ...] to sleep [... And] when they [arrived] at the bank of the Mala River, they made an offering [to the gods]. And from there ... [they set out(?), and] on the sixteenth(?) day they arrived in the heart of the mountains.

§16 [And when] they arrived [...] in the heart of the mountains, they [looked at(?)] the mountains and stared at the cedars. [And] Huwawa stared down [at them from ...], (saying to himself), "Seeing that [they have reached] the place of the god, have they finished [cutting down ...] the god's cedars?" [Then Enkidu] and Gilgamesh said to one another, "[The deity ... has ...] these inhospitable mountains and has made the mountains thick [with cedars. They] are covered in brambles(?), [so that it is not possible for a mortal] to cross. [...] hold the [...] limbs of the cedars, and [they are ...] within the mountains [...]" But he/it falls from [...] Huwawa. Like a musician they keep striking [...]

§17 And when Gilgamesh saw the track [of Huwawa], then he came to [...] And [he] feared him. Then Enkidu [said to Gilgamesh], "Why [...], and why against [him do you ... ?] Won't [you] stand with [Huwawa ... ? If] Huwawa [...] against me, then a man would [...] much. And if he [...], then he will [...] us. [...] by means of an heroic spirit [...]"

§18 [And] whoever [...] to them [...] Enkidu [...] from the heavens [...] his head [...]

(short gap)

§19 [Then Enkidu] took an axe in his hand [...] And when Gilgamesh saw [this], he too took an axe [... in his hand, and] he cut down the cedars. [But when Huwawa] heard the noise(?), anger came over him, "Who has come and cut down the cedars [that] have grown up for me [among] the mountains?"

§20 Then down from the sky the Sun-god of Heaven spoke to them, "Proceed! Have no fear! Go [in] while he has not yet entered the house, [has not yet ...], and has not [yet donned(?)] his cloaks(?)." [When] Enkidu heard [this, rage] came [over him]. Enkidu and Gilgamesh went in against him and fought Huwawa in the mountains. [Huwawa] said to them, "[I will ...] you up, and I will carry you up to heaven! I will smash you on the skull, and I will bring you [down] to the Dark [Earth]!" He [...] them up, but he [did] not [carry] them [up] to heaven.[137] He [smashed] them on the skull, but he did not bring them down to the Dark [Earth. They grabbed] Huwawa, and by the hair they [...] in the mountains. [...] Then the one wiped away their sweat. The posted horses are restless. The dust clouds that are raised (are so thick) that heaven is not visible. Then Gilgamesh looked up at the throne of the Sun-god of Heaven and cried out. He looked in from out of the [...] of the Sun-god of Heaven, and his tears [flowed] like canals.

137. F and C add: [And] the rock [...] against my foot.

§21 Gilgamesh [said] to the Sun-god of Heaven, "This is the very day that in the city […], because she(?) resettled [Enkidu(?)] in the city.

§22 "But I [prayed(?)] to the Sun-god of Heaven, and then I set out on my journey, and by means of battle [I … him]." Then [the Sun-god] of Heaven heard Gilgamesh's appeal, and held back the great winds against Huwawa: the South(!) Wind, the North Wind, [the East Wind, the West Wind], the Galeforce Wind, the Freezing Wind, [the Storm Wind], and the Destructive Wind. Eight winds blew up and battered [Huwawa] in the eyes so that he was unable to advance and unable to retreat. Then Huwawa gave up.

§23 Huwawa said to Gilgamesh, "Release me, O Gilgamesh! You shall be my lord and I shall be your slave. [Take(?)] the cedars that I have raised for you. I will fell mighty beams(?) [for you in …] And a palace […]" Enkidu [said] to [Gilgamesh], "Don't [listen to the plea] that Huwawa [makes to you! …] Don't [release] Huwawa!" [… in] the mountains […]

(short gap)

§24 [And] Enkidu answered [Gilgamesh], "[…] likewise […] your, [Gilgamesh's, …] While [he has] not yet [entered the house(?) …]"

colophon (D) Tablet 1, Song of [Gilgamesh], unfinished. By the hand of Ibizzi.

Commentary

§1 *1.A*$_a$ *i 1*: Although the photos BoFN0546f and BoFN00685a might appear to show traces of a line preceding this one, collation of the tablet indicates that these are merely scratches. In any event, it would be most unusual to begin a paragraph with a line of only a few signs flush left; it is clear even from BoFN0546f[138] that there is no text to the right of the alleged "traces." For the reading and restoration, see Laroche 1968: 121, who compares *wallaḫḫi=ya=an*, KUB 24.7 i 12, 22, 25.

§2 *1.A*$_a$ *i 9*: [^{U}]^{ZU}ḪAR*-*ni-uš* is found only here. Comparison with the exercise tablet from Ugarit discussed above (see pp. 3–4 above), where the physical description of Gilgamesh seemingly concludes with the length of his facial hair, suggests the meaning "beard" here, although the presence of the determinative UZU demands caution.

§5 *1.D*$_c$ *11′*: *CHD* Š, 50 states that *šakruwai-* without *-za* should be intransitive, but the context here makes it unlikely that Enkidu is leading the beasts to graze and drink. Surely he is following them.

§10 *1.Ba ii 7′*: The translation "discretely" for EGIR-*an arḫa* is uncertain, but see Beal 2002: 78 n. 130, where he suggests a translation "secret(?) misdeed" for *appan arḫa waštul*.

§12 *1.D*$_g$ *ii 10′–12′*: Although the verb that must have stood at the beginning of ii 12′ has been lost, the fact that Gilgamesh is in the nominative and Enkidu in the accusative lends support to the view that it was the former who was victorious in their wrestling match. See George 2003: 191–92.

1.D$_g$ *ii 12′*: For the restoration of kissing, see OB Yale Tablet line 18 (*ittašqū–ma)*.

§16 This paragraph is parallel to, if much shorter than, the portion of SB Tablet V recently published by Al-Rawi and George (2014). In both texts we find the gawking of the heroes at the majesty of the Cedar Forest, and description of the tangled growth of the impenetrable vegetation, followed by Gilgamesh taking fright (here in §17).

1.D$_g$ *iii 14′*: *CHD* L–N, 45 renders *lappinit aršanteš* as "planted with *l.*-plants."

1.D$_g$ *iii 18′*: The restoration [*ma-u*]*š-kat-ta-ri* is from Neu 1968: 114 n. 3.

§19 *1.C*$_a$ *iii 9′*: I follow Rieken et al., KhT (line 156) in translating *taḫara-* as "Lärm, noise" from context. It is difficult to identify this lexeme with *ta-ḫa-ra-a* discussed by Görke 2010: 52, which seems to be an adverb.

§20 *1.C*$_a$ *iii 18′*: For *galpariwala-*, see Starke 1990: 271 n. 919, and CLL^2, 98.

138. This is more visible here than on BoFN00685a, which does not show the upper edge of the tablet as fully.

1.D$_c$ *iv 22*: For ⸢*tarš*(*a*)*ma*-, see Tischler 1987: 347–48.

1.D$_c$ *iv 26*: *nu* ANŠE.KUR.RA.Ḫ̮I.A-*uš*-x. The only element we might expect to find following the phonetic complement on a noninitial heterogram would be the particle -*pat*. But F:12′ omits the final sign whose traces are indicated on the copy of D$_c$ and examination of the 3D image on KhT (295/q) does not reveal any definite remains of a sign.

CHD P, 208 restores *pa-aš-ke-eš-kán*[-*zi*?], without translation, but since I understand the following word as a finite verb (see below) and there is no copula, I have opted for a participle.

D$_c$ iv 26 has *ar-ri-ya-an*[- while C$_b$ iv 8′ shows]-*ri-ya-an-ti*. With emendation of the latter, we may recover a prs.3.pl.M/P verb *ar-ri-ya-an*<-*ta*>-*ti*. *HW*^{2} I, 295 lists the verb *arriya*-, found elsewhere only in the vocabulary erim.ḫuš (Otten and von Soden 1968: 10, i 41), where it is equated with Akkadian *dalāpu*, "to be sleepless." Hence I tentatively render the verb in our passage as "to be restless." In any case, the sudden appearance of equines here—not matched in any of the Babylonian material—is curious.

§22 *1.C*$_b$ *iv 19′*: KhT, following Friedrich 1930: 12, reads *š*[*a-ki-y*]*a*$^?$-⸢*aḫ*$^?$-*ḫa*⸣-x [(l.197), which could only be completed as a participle, yet the traces of the final sign on the photo are not compatible with a reading AN. Therefore, with all reserve, I suggest a reading *za-aḫ-ḫa*-<*ya*>-*az*$^?$. If this is correct, the object of the lost verb would have been the solar deity, who was "[*served/honored*]" by Gilgamesh's martial activity.

1.C$_b$ *iv 22′–23′*: For the restoration of the missing winds, cf. the list in Tablet III: 88–91 of the SB Epic, and see George 2003: 812–14 for IM.GAL as a possible corruption of ^{IM}GÀL = *šūtu*, "south wind."

Colophon: For the scribe, see Gordin 2015: 228 and Torri 2017: 377.

CTH 341.III.2

Tablet 2

A. KUB 23.9 + KUB 8.54 [A$_a$] (+) KUB 8.52 [A$_b$] (§§1–2′)
B. KUB 8.58 (§§3′–4′)
C. KBo 19.117 (§§5′–6′)

Translation: del Monte 2004: 300–301.

§1

A$_a$ i[139]
1. [… Ḫ̮UR.S]AG.MEŠ
2. [… *I*]*Š-TU ŠA* ^{d}*Ḫ̮u-wa-wa*
3. [Ḫ̮UR.SAG.MEŠ …] x *na-an ḫal-lu-wa* ⸢*ḫar*⸣-*k*[*án-zi*]
(large gap)

§2′

A$_b$ ii
1. [^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$-*uš A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ E]GIR-*pa me-m*[*i-iš-ki-iz-zi … -wa*]
2. [*ša-ra*]-⸢*a ú*⸣-*wa-u*-⸢*en*⸣ *n*[*u*$^?$ o o]-*aš A-NA* Ḫ̮UR.SA[G …]
3. [*n*]*u-wa ku-it pé-e-du-um*[-*me*]-*ni A-NA* ^{d}E[N.LÍL …]
4. EGIR-*pa* ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*ma-an*<-*wa*>-*k*[*án k*]*ar-šu-u-e-ni ku*-⸢*iš*⸣-*m*[*a* …]
5. *ŠA* ^{d}EN.LÍL É.DINGIR^{LIM} [K]Á.GAL^{TIM} 1-*e-da-az* […]
6. *pa-ra-a-ta-za iš*-⸢*tap-pí-nu-ir*⸣* [*na-a*]*t QA-TAM-MA a-ša-a-an*[-*du* …]
7. ^{GIŠ}ERIN *kar-še-er na-at*[-*kán*] ⸢*A*⸣-*NA* ^{ÍD}*Ma-la-a* [*e-ri-ir*$^?$]
8. *na-at-kán* GIM-*an* KUR-*e-a*[*n-z*]*a* IGI-*an-da a-u*[*š-ta*]

139. Autopsy of the reverse of A$_a$ shows illegible traces of a single line, not copied in KUB 8.54.

9. *nu-uš-ma-ša-at du-uš-ki*[*-i*]*š-kán-zi* […]
10. *nu-uš-ma-aš* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš* [^{d}*En-k*]*i-du*$_{4}$-*u*[*š-ša ša-ak-nu-wa-an-tu-uš*?]
11. TÚG.NÍG.LÁM.MEŠ *ar-ḫa pé-e*[*š-ši-e-er* …]
12. *nu-uš-ma-aš pár-*⌜*ku*⌝-[*n*]*u-u*[*š-ki-ir* …]
13. *nu-uš-ma-aš-k*[*án* …]
14. GIM-*an*[*-ma* …]

(gap)

§3′
B rev.? **1′.** [*nu* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*u*]*š A-NA* ⌜^{d} *IŠTAR me*⌝[*-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*]
2′. [^{É}*ḫa-le-en*]*-tu-wa-wa-at-ta* [… *ú-e-da-aḫ-ḫi*]
3′. [o o o o] x-*aḫ-ḫu-uš-ma-wa-ká*[*n* …]
4′. [KÁ-*aš* ^{GIŠ}]⌜*kat*-ta-lu*⌝*-uz-zi-ma I*[*Š-TU* ^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN]
5′. [^{NA_4}*ki-ri-i*]*n-na-zi-ya te-eḫ-ḫ*[*i nu* ^{d} *IŠTAR-iš*]
6′. [*A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ].GIM.MAŠ EGIR-*pa me-mi-i*[*š-ki-iz-zi*]
7′. [*Ú-UL-wa*] *ša-ak-ti* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM[.MAŠ …]
8′. [o o *Ú*]*-UL e-eš-zi nu-wa-a*[*š-ši* …]
9′. [o o *Ú-U*]*L IŠ-TU* KÙ.BABBAR G[UŠKIN?-*ya* …]
10′. [*nu-wa* KÁ]-*aš* ^{GIŠ}*kat-ta-lu-uz-z*[*i* …]
11′. [*IŠ-TU* ^{NA_4}]ZA.GÌN ^{NA_4}*ki-ri-in*[*-na-zi-ya te-eḫ-ḫi*?]

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§4′ **12′.** [^{d}*IŠTAR-iš*] *A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ EG[IR-*pa me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*]
13′. [*e-ḫu*? ^{d}G]IŠ.GIM.MAŠ *nu*<-*wa*>-*mu-za* ⌜^{LÚ}⌝[*MU-DU-YA e-eš*?]
14′. [o o o *n*]*u* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš* ⌜*A*⌝[*-NA* ^{d}*IŠTAR*]
15′. [*me-mi-i*]*š-ki-iz-z*[*i* …]
16′. [o o *ki-š*]*a-ru* […]
17′. [o o *Ú-U*]*L* x […]

(gap)

§5′
C ii? 1′. $^{NÍG?}$x […]
2′. *pí-e*?(-)[…]
3′. *wa-ar-š*[*u*?-*la*?- …]
4′. *na-at ak-*⌜*ku*⌝*-u*[*š*?*-kán-zi* …]

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§6′ **5′.** GIM-*an-ma-an* ^{d}*E*[*n-ki-du*$_{4}$*-uš* …]
6′. *nu-uš-ma-aš* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MA[Š-*uš* …]
7′. UR.SAG-*in* ÉRIN.MEŠ [^{URU}*U-ra-ga-ya* …]
8′. *nam-ma-at IŠ-TU* [^{URU}*U-ra-ga*? …]
9′. *nu* UR.SAG-*iš* ÉRIN[.MEŠ ^{URU}*U-ra-ga-ya … me-mi-iš-kán-zi*?]
10′. *nu-wa* ^{GUD}*A-lu-uš* […]
11′. *traces*

Tablet 2

§1 … [mountains …] from the [mountains] of Huwawa […] they hold him down low.

(large gap)

§2′ [Enkidu] replied [to Gilgamesh], "[When(?)] we came [forth …], then(?) [we …] to the mountains. What will we take back for [Enlil …]? Should we really fell the cedars? Whoever […] the gate of Enlil's temple from one direction […] They have shut you out(?). Let them be likewise!" […] They felled the cedars and [arrived] at the Mala River. And when the populace gazed upon them (that is, the cedars), they rejoiced over them. […] Then Gilgamesh [and] Enkidu threw off their [filthy], if splendid, garments and cleaned themselves up. […] And them [… But] when […]

(gap)

§3′ [Then Gilgamesh said] to Ishtar, "[I will build] a palace for you [… I will set up(?)] … I will lay the threshold [of the gate with lapis lazuli] and porphyry(?)." [Ishtar] replied [to] Gilgamesh, "[Don't] you know, O Gilgamesh, [that] there is no […]? And for [it …] not with silver [and gold(?)?" He replied, "I will lay] the threshold of [the gate … with] lapis lazuli [and] porphyry(?)."

§4′ [Ishtar replied] to Gilgamesh, "[Come], O Gilgamesh, [be] my [husband … !]" Then Gilgamesh said [to Ishtar, "…] let it [become(?) …]"

(gap)

§5′ […] And they will die [in droves …]

§6′ If [Enkidu] were [to …], then Gilgamesh to them […] the hero [and] the men [of Uruk …] Furthermore, they [departed(?)] from [Uruk(?) …] Then the hero [and] the men [of Uruk … say]: "The Bull of Heaven […]"

Commentary

§1 *A_a i 3*: *HED* Ḫ, 48 translates *ḫalluwa ḫarkanzi* as "they hold him deep" (adverbial nom./acc.pl.).

§2′ *2.A_b obv. 4*: For the use of the irrealis in questions, see *CHD* L, 142 (C.2′).

2.A_b obv. 6: For the rendering of *parā ištappnuir* as "they shut you out," see *HED* E–I, 473–74.

§3′ *2.B rev. 3′*: Restore perhaps [^{GIŠ}*pal-z*]*a*$^{?}$*-aḫ-ḫu-uš*, "socles"?

2.B rev. 5′: For [^{NA_4}*ki-ri-i*]*n-na-zi* as the abl. of ^{NA_4}*kirinni-*, see *HED* K, 188–89. Although Polvani (1988: 32 with n. 4) rejects this restoration, there can be little doubt that rev. 3′ and 11′ justify mutual emendation.

CTH 341.III.3

Tablet 3

A. KUB 8.48 [A_a] + KBo 19.116 (+) KUB 8.49 [A_b] (§§1–2, 3′)
B. KUB 17.3 (§§1–2, 3′–5′, 11′–12′, 21′)
C. KUB 8.50 + KBo 22.91 (§§6′–7′, 18′–21′)
D. KUB 33.124 (§18′)
E. KUB 8.59 (§§8′–10′)
F. KUB 36.65 (§§18′–19′)
G. KBo 54.2 (§15′)
H. KBo 19.118 (§16′)
I. KBo 10.49 (§17′)

Translation: del Monte 2004: 301–6.

A$_a$ i **1.** [o o o o *šu*]-*up*[140]-*pa-ri-ya-u-wa-aš-ta-ti nu lu-uk-ke-eš-ta*
§1 **2.** [*nu*] ˹^{d}*En*˺[-*k*]*i-du*$_4$-*uš A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ EGIR-*pa* ˹*me-mi-iš-ki*˺[-*u-wa-an da-a-iš*]
3. [ŠE]Š-*ni-mi ke-e-da-ni-wa-za-kán* GE$_6$-*an-ti ku-in* ˹Ù˺[-*an u-uḫ-ḫu-un*]
4. *nu-wa* ^{d}*A-nu-uš* ^{d}EN.LÍL-*aš* ^{d}É.A-*aš* ^{d}UTU AN^{E}-*ya* ˹*a*˺[-*ra-an-ta-at*]
5. *nu-wa* ^{d}*A-nu-uš A-NA* ^{d}EN.LÍL IGI-*an-da me-mi-*˹*iš*˺-*t*[*a*]
6. ˹*a*˺-*pu-u-uš-wa-kán ku-it*[141] ^{GUD}*A-lu-ú-un ke-en-nir* ^{d}*Ḫu-wa*[-*wa-in-na ku-it*]
7. *ku-en-nir* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*wa ku-iš IŠ-TU* ^{GIŠ}ERIN *wa-ar-ḫ*[*u-u-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi*]
8. *nu-wa* ^{d}*A-nu-uš IQ-BI ku-e-ta-aš-ša-wa-kán*[142] *iš-tar-na* [1-*aš ak-du*]
9. ^{d}EN.LÍL-*aš-ma IQ-BI* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$-*uš-wa ak-du*
10. ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš-ma-wa le-e a-ki*

---

§2 **11.** *nu* ^{d}UTU AN^{E} ^{d}˹EN˺.LÍL UR.SAG-˹*li*˺ EGIR-*pa me-mi*[-*iš-ki-u-wa-a*(*n da-a-iš*)]
12. *Ú-UL-wa-ra-an-kán tu-e-ta-za me-mi-ya-na-az ku-en-ni*[*r*]
13. ^{GUD}*A-lu-ú*[143]-*un* ˹^{d}*Ḫu*˺-*wa-wa-in-na ki-nu-na-ma* ˹*ni-wa-al-l*[*i-iš*]
14. ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$-*uš a-*˹*ki*˺ ^{d}EN.LÍL-*aš-ma-kán A-NA* ^{d}UTU AN˹^{E}˺
15. [*k*]*ar-tim-mi-e-eš-ta zi-ik-wa-<ra*˹?˺*>-aš-ma-aš ku-it i-wa-ar*
16. ^{LÚ}*TAP-PÍ-ŠU<-NU>* UD.KAM-*ti-li kat-ta-an i-ya-at-ta-ti* ^{d}*E*[*n-ki-du*$_4$-*uš*]
17. *A-NA* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ *pí-ra-an kat-*˹*ta še-eš*˺-*ta*
18. *nu-uš-ši-kán iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru pa-ra-*˹*a*˺ [P]A$_5$.ḪI.A-*uš ma-a-an* [*ar-ši-e-er*]
19. ŠEŠ-*YA na-ak-ki-iš-mu-za* ŠEŠ-*a*[*š*] ˹*A*˺-*NA* ŠEŠ-*YA-mu-kán* [*Ú-UL*]
20. *pár-ki-ya-nu-wa-an-zi nam-ma nu*[-*wa-z*]*a-kán A-NA* GIDIM.[ḪI.A]
21. *e-eš-ḫa-ḫa-ri* ^{GIŠ}*kat-ta-lu-uz-z*[*i*]-*ya-wa-kán ŠA* GI[DIM.ḪI.A *šar-ra-aḫ-ḫi*]
22. *nu-wa* ŠEŠ-*YA na-ak-*˹*ki-in*˺ IGI.ḪI.A-*wa-za Ú-UL nam-ma* [*u-uḫ-ḫi*]

---

23. *traces*

(gap)

A$_b$ ii[144] **1.** […] ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš A-N*[*A* …]
§3′ **2.** […] *da-a-i ku-it-ki na-an* [(*tar-kum-ma-i*) …]
3. […] *na*˹˺-*an* ^{LÚ}SUKKAL-*an i-ya*[-*az-zi* …]
4. [… (EGIR-*pa-aš na*)]-˹*a*˺[145]-*aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-iz*[-*zi*]

B ii **3′.** ˹GIM˺-*an-ma* ^{d}GIŠ.[GIM.MAŠ-*uš ŠA* ^{d}*En-ki-du*$_4$ *me-mi-ya-an*]
§4′ **4′.** *iš-ta-m*[*a-aš*]-*ta n*[*u-uš-ši-kán iš-ḫa-ḫa-ru* PA$_5$.ḪI.A-*uš*]
5′. *ma-a-an pa-ra-a* ˹*ar*˺-*š*[*i-e-er* …]
6′. IGI.ḪI.A-*wa-ma-za-k*[*án* …]

---

§5′ **7′.** GIM-*an-ma* […]
8′. x […]

(gap)

C ii **1.** ˹*ku-it-ma-an*˺-*ši-kán* ^{URU}*It*-ti-ḫ*[*a*[146] URU˹?˺(-) …]

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140. Coll. Neu 1968: 157 n. 1.
141. B i 1′: *ku-i*]-˹*e*˺-*eš*.
142. B i 3′:]-*wa-kán<<-kán>>*.
143. B i 6′omits.
144. In a note on p. 26 of the text volume (KUB 8) Weidner suggests that this piece is part of the same tablet as KUB 8.48 (3.A$_a$).
145. B ii 2′: *na-*˹*a*˺[- (coll.).
146. Coll. Ehelolf apud Friedrich 1930: 23, n. 4.

§6′ **2.** *pé-eš-ši-ya-at* GIM-*an-ma* ˹ᵈ˺[…]
3. *a-uš-ta nu-kán* ᵈGIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*uš* ˹*am*-x[- …]
4. *I-NA* ḪUR.SAG *ar-ḫa píd-da-a-it na-aš-kán* […]
5. ˹*tàš*˺*-ku-pí-iš-ki-iz-zi* UN-*an-wa-kán ku-w*[*a-pí* …]
6. [*ku-n*]*a*ʔ*-an-zi* MUNUS-*aš-ma-wa-kán* É-*ir-za pa-ra*[*-a pa-a-i*ʔ]
7. [*na-a*]*n* ˹ᵈ˺GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*uš QA-TAM-MA* DÙ-*at nu* KUR^{TUM} *a*[*r*ʔ*-ḫa*ʔ …]
8. [*na-aš*]*-kán* KUR-*az*[147] *ar-ḫa pa-it nu* ḪUR.SAG.ME[Š-*uš*]
9. [*la-a*]*ḫ-ḫi-ya-iš-ki-it ku-i-e-eš* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ *š*[*ar*˺*-ra-aš-ki-it*]
10. [ÍD.MEŠ-*u*]*š ku-i-e-eš za-a-iš-ki-it* DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$[.LU *Ú-UL ša-ak-ki*]

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§7′ **11.** [*nu* MÁŠ.AN]ŠE.ḪI.A *ku-en-né-eš-ki-iz-zi* ^{GUD}AM *nu*[- …]
12. [o o o o-*u*]*z*ʔ*-zi* GIM-*an-ma-aš-kán* ŠÀ ḪUR.SAG[.MEŠ]
13. [*a-ar-aš n*]*u-*˹*kán*˺ 2 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ ˹*pít-ta-nu-um-m*[*i*]*-*˹*en*˺[*-za* …]
14. [*ku-en-ta nu-ká*]*n* ˹ᵈGIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*uš* ŠÀ˺ ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ *a-a*[*r*]*-aš*
15. […] x MUŠEN-*iš* ^{GIŠ}[…]
16. [… -*š*]*a*(-)x […]
17. *traces*

(gap)

E[148] **1′.** [*na*]*-aš ú-e-ḫ*[*a-at-ta*ʔ …]
§8′ **2′.** [*Ú-U*]*L ku-it-ki* ˹*me-mi*˺[*-iš-ki-iz-zi* …]
3′. [*o*]*-aš-ši-ya-aš* ˹*a-wa-an ar-ḫa*˺ […]

---

§9′ **4′.** [GIM]*-an-*˹*ma*˺ ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš a-ru*[*-ni a-ar-aš*]
5′. [*n*]*a-aš a-ru-ni ḫe-en-ik-ta n*[*a-aš* ᵈ*A-ru-ni me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*]
6′. [T]I-*wa-za e-eš šal-li-iš a-r*[*u-na-aš nu-ut-ta*]
7′. [*ku*]*-i-e-eš* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*uš na-at* TI-*eš* [*a-ša-an-du*]
8′. [ᵈ]˹*A*˺*-ru-na-aš-kán* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*un* […]
9′. [*Ù*] ˹ᵈ˺*Gul-šu-uš ḫur-za-ki-u-wa-an* [*da-a-iš*]

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§10′ **10′.** […] x *a-ru-na-an* x […]
11′. [… *a-ru-na-a*]*š ta-pu-*˹*ša*˺ […]
12′. [… E]GIR-*an-da* […]
13′. [… Š]Uʔ-˹*za*˺ *t*[*e*ʔ- …]

(gap)[149]

B iii **2′.** [o o o o] ˹ᵈ˺XXX-*aš* UR.SAG-*iš* x […]
§11′ **3′.** ˹*zi-ik-ma*˺*-wa-kán a-pu-uš ku-i-e-eš* ˹2˺ U[R.MAḪ.MEŠ-*uš*ʔ]
4′. *ku-in-né-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-aš-mu i-it* 2 AL[AM *i-ya*]
5′. *nu-wa-ra-aš I-NA* URU^{LIM} *pé-*˹*e*˺[*-ḫu-te*][150]
6′. *nu-wa-ra-aš*^{er} *I-NA* É.DINGIR˹^{LIM}˺ *ŠA* ᵈXXX *pé-*˹*e*˺[*-ḫu-te*]

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§12′ **7′.** GIM-*an-ma* ˹*lu*˺*-uk-kat-ta nu* ᵈGIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*uš i-wa-a*[*r* …]
8′. *pár-*˹*ti*˺*-pár-ti-*˹*iš-ki*˺*-iz-zi* GIM-*an-ma-aš-kán A-N*[*A* …]

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147. Followed by *-za* in erasure.
148. col. ii or iii.
149. FA.1 perhaps belongs here.
150. Entire line written over erasure.

9′. *a-ar-aš nu-˹kán˺ ᶠSí-du-ri-iš* ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢTIN.NA *A-N*[*A* ᴳᴵŠŠÚ.A GUŠKIN?]
10′. ˹*e*˺-*e*[*š-z*]*i* ˹*nu-uš*˺-*š*[*i NA*]*M*-˹*ṢÍ-TU*$_4$˺ *ŠA* ˹GUŠKIN˺ [*pí-ra-an ki-it-ta-ti*?]

(short gap)

F **1′.** […]-˹*ri-iš-ki-iz-zi*˺ *nu-za-kán a-aš-š*[*u* …]
§13′ **2′.** [… -*i*]*z*?-*zi ma-né-en-ku-wa-an-na Ú-UL* [*ú-it*? …]
3′. [… -*n*]*i*? *nu-za-kán* ᶠ*Na-aḫ-mi-zu-le-en* […]
4′. [ᵈGIŠ.GIM-MAŠ-*uš*? *a-uš-t*]*a nu-za* ZI-*ni pí-ra-an*
5′. [*me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-a*]*n da-a-iš*

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§14′ **6′.** [o o o o *a-pa*]-˹*a*˺-*aš* MUNUS-*za* ᴸᵁ.ᴹᴱŠGURUŠ-*uš* ku*-iš** ˹*ú*˺[- …]
7′. [*nu* ᴸᵁEN.NU.U]N *ḫar-ni-ik-ta* ᵈ*Ḫu-w*[*a-wa-in-na ḫar-ni-ik-ta*]
8′. [ᴳᵁᴰ*A-lu-ú-u*]*n-na ḫar-ni-ik-ta* AN [… ŠÀ ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ]
9′. [UR.MAḪ.MEŠ *ḫa*]*r-ni-ik-ta ki*-nu-n*[*a* …]
10′. […] ˹*ú*?˺-*wa-an-zi IT-T*[*I* …]
11′. […] x-*ta-ri nu*[151]-x […]
12′. *traces*

(short gap)

G[152] **1′.** […]-x ˹*a-ru-na*˺[- …]
§15′ **2′.** [… *nu*-]˹*wa-ra*˺-*an-kán Ú-UL-m*[*a*? …]
3′. [… ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢT]IN.NA EGIR-*pa IQ*-˹*BI*˺ *U*[*M-MA*? …]
4′. […]-*ši* KASKAL-*an-wa ku-in p*[*a*?-*i-ši*? …]
5′. […] ᵐ*U*[*r*]-˹*ša*˺-*na-bí-iš kat*?[-
6′. […] ˹*ar*˺-*ḫa* […]
7′. […] x […]

(gap)

H **1′.** [… ᵈUT]U AN^{E} 1-*aš-za a-r*[*u-na-an za-a-i da-ma-a-iš-ma*]
§16′ **2′.** [*a-ru-na-an Ú-UL za*]-˹*a*˺-*i nu* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MA[Š-*uš A-NA* ᶠ*Na-aḫ-mi-zu-le*]
3′. [*me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi Ú*]-*UL-wa-mu* GAM-*an*!? [o] ˹*a*˺-*r*[*u-na*?(-) …]
4′. [*nu* ᶠ*Na-aḫ-mi-zu-le-eš*? EGI]R-*pa me-mi-i*[*š-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš* …]
5′. [… ᵐ*U-ur-ša-na-bi-i*]*š*? LÚ ᴳᴵŠMÁ [*ŠA* ᵐ*Ul-lu*? …]
6′. [… *ḫ*]*ar-zi* ᴳᴵŠʳ *tal**˺[- …]
7′. [… *la*?-*a*]*ḫ-ḫa-az* x [o o o]-˹*ru*?˺[…]
8′. […] x ᴳᴵŠMÁ *a*-˹*wa*?˺[-*an*? …]

(*short gap*)[153]

I[154] **1′.** [… ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MA]Š?-˹*uš* kat*˺-*t*[*a* …]
§17′ **2′.** [… *ḫ*]*u-u-wa-iš nu A-NA* x […]
3′. [… -*w*]*a*? ᵈ*En-ki-du*$_4$-*uš am-mu-u*[*g-ga* …]
4′. […] x *A-NA* ZI MU.KAM.ḪI.A-*u*[*š*? …]
5′. [… -*š*]*a-an a-pé-e-el* UD-*za* [*a-ar-aš*?]
6′. [… *le*]-˹*e*?˺ *ḫa-a-ši* ID*-[…]

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151. Collation shows no space between these signs.
152. See Soysal 2004.
153. FA.2 perhaps belongs here.
154. See preliminary transliteration by Otten 1958: 94 n. 7.

7′. [… -*u*]*z*?-*zi n*[*a*?- …]
8′. […] *e-e*[*š*(-) …]

C iii **1′.** ˹*ku-iš*˺-*k*[*i* …]
§18′ **2′.** *zi-ik-w*[*a*[155] (*za-a-ši* o o x) *UM-MA* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ]
3′. *A-NA* ᵐ*U-ur*[-*ša-na-bi* … *z*(*i-ik-wa-ra-an-kán ku-iš*)]
4′. UD-*ti* GE$_6$-*an*[-*t*(*i za-a-iš-ki-ši*) *U*(*M-MA*) ᵐ*U*(-*ur-ša-na-bi*[156])]
5′. *am-mu-uk-w*[(*a a-pu-u-uš* 2 ALAM.NA$_4$) *za*(-*a-i-nu-uš-kir*)]
6′. *UM-MA* ᵈG[(IŠ.GIM.MAŠ *ku-wa-at-wa-mu*) *ka*(*r-tim-mi-ya-at-ta-an i-ya-ši*[157])]
7′. *nu* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*u*[*š*? … ᵐ*U-ur-ša-na-bi*]
8′. EGIR-*pa me-*˹*mi*˺[-*iš-*(*ki*)-*u-wa-an da-a-iš* …]
9′. *tu-*˹*el*˺-*wa* x […]
10′. ˹*ša*˺-*ra-a-wa-at-t*[*a* …]
11′. *pí-ra-an pa-aš-ga-aḫ*[158][-*ḫu-un*? …]
12′. *IŠ-TU IṢ-ṢI kat-ta* x [o o o o]-˹*ru-uš*˺ x […]
13′. *a-da-an-zi* ˹*nu*˺ ᵐ*Ur-ša-na-*˹*bi-iš A*˺-*NA* ᵈGIŠ.GI[M.MAŠ]
14′. LUGAL-*i* EGIR-*pa me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-iš* [*ki-i-wa*]
15′. *ku-it* ᵈ˹GIŠ˺.GIM.MAŠ *nu-wa-kán a-ru-na-an p*[*a-ri-ya-an*]
16′. *pa-a-i-ši nu-wa ag-ga-an-na-aš ú-e-te-n*[*a-aš*]
17′. *ku-wa-pí a-ar-ti nu-wa* GIM-*an i-ya-ši*
18′. *ḪA-AṢ-ṢÍ-*˹*IN*˺-*NU-wa* ŠU-*za e-ep nu-wa-kán* [*ḫwi*$_5$-*na-la*]
19′. *ŠA* 40 ˹*gi*˺-*pé-eš-na-aš na-aš-ma ŠA* 50 *g*[*i-pé-eš-na-aš kar-aš*]

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§19′ **20′.** *nu* GIM-*an* ˹ᵈ˺GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš ŠA* ᵐ*U-ur-ša-n*[*a-bi*]
21′. *me-mi-ya-an* ˹*IŠ*˺-*ME nu ḪA-AṢ-ṢÍ-IN-NU* ŠU-*za* ˹*e*˺[-*ep-ta*]
22′. *nu-kán ḫw*[*i*$_5$]-*na-la*[1] *ŠA* 50 *gi-pé-eš-na-aš*
23′. *kar-aš-ta na-at ḫšap-pa-at-ta ḫpi*[*š*- …]
24′. *na-at-kán* ˹*A*˺-*NA* ᴳᴵŠMÁ *ša-ra-a da-a-i*[*š*]
25′. *na-at-kán* ˹2*˺-*e-lu-uš-pát A-NA* ᴳᴵŠMÁ *ša-ra-*˹*a*˺ [*pa-a-ir*?]
26′. ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-˹*uš*˺ ᵐ*Ur-ša-na-bi-iš-ša nu* ᵐ*Ur-š*[*a-na-bi-iš*]
27′. *ḫpí-in-*˹*ta*˺-*an-za* ŠU-*za e-ep-ta* ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MA[Š-*uš-ma ḫwi*$_5$-*na-la*]
28′. ŠU-*za* <*e-ep-ta*> ˹*ŠA*˺ [KAS]KAL-*aš-ma-aš-*˹*ša*˺ ITU.1.KAM UD.15.KAM ˹*ŠA*˺ *x* […]

(gap)

C iv **1′.** […] x x
§20′ **2′.** […] x-˹ZU?-*ma*?˺
3′. [… -*a*]*k-ku-an-zi*
4′. [… -*š*/*t*]*a*
5′. […]-˹*zu*?-*mi*˺
6′. […]

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§21′ **7′.** […] ᵈGIŠ.GIM.MAŠ

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155. D iv 1′: [*z*]*i-ik-ka*$_4$.
156. D iv 3′: ᵈ*Ur-ša-na-bi*.
157. D iv 6′–7′, colophon: DUB[.N.KAM] / ᵈ[GIŠ.GIM.MA]Š ˹NU.TIL˺.
158. Collation by Ehelolf apud Friedrich 1930: 24 n. 2.

8′. […] (-)x-*ar-nu-ti*
9′. […] *ú-e-da-an*
10′. […]
11′. […] x x
12′. [… -*z*]*i*?
13′. […] *tu-li-ya na-aš-mu*
14′. […] *pa-an-du*
15′. [… -*a*]*n-ta-an*
16′. […] ˹ᵈ˺*Ul-lu-uš*
17′. [… *tu-l*]*i-ya-an*
18′. […] x-*iš*
19′. […]
20′. […]-*e-er*
21′. [… -*š*]*a*?-*aš-du*
22′. […]
23′. […] *ḫar-zi*

B iv **1′.** […] x *iz* x […]
§22′ **2′.** […]-*eš-ša*[(-) …]

Colophon
3′. […] x[159]

Tablet 3

§1 "[…] we were sleeping." It dawned, [and] Enkidu said to Gilgamesh, "O my brother—the dream that [I saw] last night! Anu, Enlil, Ea, and the Sun-god of Heaven [were seated (in council)]. And Anu spoke before Enlil, 'Because they have killed the Bull of Heaven, [and because] they have killed Huwawa, who [made] the mountains thick with cedars'—so said Anu—'between them [one must die]!' And Enlil said, 'Enkidu shall die, but Gilgamesh shall not die!'

§2 "Then the Sun-god of Heaven responded to heroic Enlil, 'Didn't they kill them(!) at my(!) behest—the Bull of Heaven and Huwawa? And should innocent Enkidu now die?' Enlil became angry with the Sun-god of Heaven, 'Why did you accompany them daily like their comrade?'" [Enkidu] lay down to sleep before Gilgamesh, and his tears [flowed] forth like canals. (He said), "O my brother, you are indeed my dear brother. I will [not] be brought up again to my brother from the underworld. I will take my seat with the shades. [I will cross] the threshold of [the dead], and I will never [see] my dear brother again with my eyes!"

(gap)

§3′ […] Gilgamesh to […] sets something. And he will announce him […] He will make him his vizier. […] Afterwards he will become afraid.

§4′ But when Gilgamesh heard [the word of Enkidu], then [his tears flowed] forth like [canals …] But his eyes […]

§5′ But when […]

(gap)

159. A_b iv 1′–2′, colophon: DUB.3ˡ.KAM / SÌR ᵈGIŠ.˹GIM˺.MAŠ.

§6′ While for him the city of Ittiha […] he threw off. But when he saw […], then Gilgamesh […] He ran off into the mountains, and he […] wailed without cease, "When they kill a man […], a woman [goes] forth from the house." [Then] Gilgamesh treated him/her likewise. He [abandoned(?)] the land, [and] he departed from the country. He roamed the mountains continually. [No] mortal [knows] the mountains that [he crossed or the rivers] that he forded.

§7′ [And] he slew many wild beasts: the wild cow, [the …] he […] But when he [arrived] in the heart of the mountains, he [slew] two … lions. [And] Gilgamesh arrived in the heart of the mountains […] a bird […]

(gap)

§8′ [And] he wandered around(?) [… He didn't say] anything. […] … away.

§9′ But [when] Gilgamesh [arrived] at the Sea, he bowed down to the Sea, [and said to the Sea], "Long may you live, O Great [Sea, and long may] the minions who belong [to you] live!" The Sea cursed Gilgamesh, […], and the Fate-deities.

§10′ […] the Sea […] beside [the Sea …] afterwards […] with his hand(?) […]

(gap)

§11′ […] the heroic Moon-god [said to Gilgamesh(?)], "Go and [make] these two [lions] which you slew into two images for me! Transport them into the city! Take them into the temple of the Moon-god!"

§12′ But at dawn Gilgamesh […], was wandering(?) like a […]. When he arrived at [the sea(?) …], Siduri the barmaid was seated upon [a golden stool], and a vat of gold [stood before her].

(short gap)

§13′ He … and good [he …] for himself. [He did] not [come(?)] near […]. Then Nahmizuli [saw Gilgamesh …] and [thought] to herself.

§14′ That woman [thought to herself], "The one who [overpowered(?)] the young men, [and] destroyed [the guardian, destroyed] Huwawa, and destroyed [the Bull of Heaven …, and] destroyed [the lions in the heart of the mountains(?)]—now [he is …] they will come(?). With […] he will […].

(short gap)

§15′ [" …] the sea […] him. Not […]" The barmaid replied [to him (saying,) " …] to him. The road that [you are travelling(?) …] Ur-shanabi […] away […]"

(gap)

§16′ [… "] Only [the Sun-god] of Heaven [crosses the sea. No one else crosses the sea]." Then Gilgamesh [said to Nahmizuli, " …] not with me [… the sea(?)." And Nahmizuli] answered, "[… Ur-shanabi], the boatman [of Ullu(?)], has […] from [the journey(?) …] the boat [away(?) …"]

(short gap)

§17′ [… Gilgamesh] ran down […] And to [… he said], "Enkidu [and] I […] (many) years for life […] His day (of death) [arrived(?) … do not] open!" And(?) […]

(gap)

§18′ […] someone [… "…] you cross [the sea … " Thus said Gilgamesh] to Ur-shanabi, "[O …], you are the one who crosses it every day and every night." Thus said Ur-shanabi, "Those two stone images used to bring me across!" Thus said Gilgamesh, "Why are you quarreling with me?" And Gilgamesh [… Ur-shanabi] replied, "[…] your […] up to you […] before […] I planted." […] with wood, down […] they ate. Then Ur-shanabi replied to Gilgamesh, the king, "What [is this], O Gilgamesh? Will you go [across] the sea? What will you do when you come to the waters of death? Take an axe in your hand [and cut poles] of forty or fifty cubits."

§19′ And when Gilgamesh heard the word of Ur-shanabi, he [took] an axe in his hand and cut poles of fifty cubits. He stripped and [trimmed(?)] them and placed them up on the boat. Then both of them, Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi, [went] up into the boat. Ur-shanabi took the rudder(?) in his hand, [while] Gilgamesh <took> [the poles] in his hand. Their journey lasted one month and fifteen days of […]

§§20′–22′ *Too fragmentary for translation.*

colophon: Third(!) tablet of the Song of Gilgamesh.

Commentary

§2 *3.A i 12*: As argued in Schott 1958: 57 n. 1, *tu-e-ta-za* must be an error for "my," despite Stefanini's efforts to justify the text as received (1969: 43–44).

§6′ *2.C ii 5–6*: My interpretation follows Stefanini 1969: 46. I had previously (2001: 163) read *ez-za-an-wa-kán* with different restorations, translating "[Whenever] they [must eat(?)] chaff" (see also KhT, C ii 5). In either case, incongruence of the statement with the context suggests that this is a proverb expressing distress. For MUNUS-*aš* as nom.sg., cf. KBo 4.6 obv. 15 (*ka-a-aš* MUNUS-*aš*) and KUB 36.7a + KUB 17.7 iii 34′ (*tar-š*[*i-i*]*k*^{l}-*kán-ta-aš* MUNUS-*aš*).

§7′ *3.C ii 13*: Neither *CHD* P, 360, nor CLL^2, 178, gives a translation for the Luwian participle ⸢*pít-ta-nu-um-m*[*i*]-⸢*en*⸣[-*zi*], which here modifies the two lions.

§12′ *3.B iii 8′*: For *partipartiški*, see *CHD* P, 199, and Kloekhorst 2008: 647. My tentative rendering "was wandering" is based on the parallel from SB X i 5: *ut-tag-gi-ša*[*m*]-*ma* (Dtn *nagāšum*, "to wander around" *CHD* N/I, 108), which it should be noted, is also an imperfective.

§13′ *3.F:3′*: Salvini (1988: 159) states that Nahmizuli (Hittite)/Nahmazuli (Hurrian) is not necessarily the same character as Siduri, but might be a female personage first appearing in the Hurrian traditions surrounding Gilgamesh. Although I cannot explain the change of names, this distinction seems unlikely and I have therefore restored Nahmizuli in §16′, where it is certain that Gilgamesh is conversing with the barmaid about crossing the waters.

§18′ *3.C iii 11′*: For the restoration *pa-aš-ga-aḫ*[-*ḫu-un*$^{?}$], see *CHD* P, 207.

§19′ *3.C iii 27′*: CLL^2, 177, ventures no translation for ⸢*pintanza*, while *CHD* P, 268, suggests "oars" (com.acc. pl.), but this does not rhyme with the instruments of propulsion employed by the mariners in SB X—punting poles and sail. Therefore perhaps the term means "rudder."

3.C iii 28′: Cf. SB X 171, where "By the third day they had traveled a month and a half's journey" (George 2003: 688–89).

colophon As Bachvarova (2016: 70) observes, DUB.1.KAM, "First Tablet," here is clearly an error.

UNPLACED HITTITE FRAGMENTS

FA. At the Sea

A.1. KBo 19.119[160]
A.2. KBo 19.120 iii

A.1 **1′.** [… (-)*d*]*a-a-aš* ^{d}G[IŠ.GIM.MAŠ- …]
2′. [… ^{d}GIŠ.GI]M.MAŠ-*uš-ma-an* ˹*ki**˺[- …]
3′. […] *im-mi-ya-at* ˹*a*˺[- …]
4′. […]-˹*a*?˺ *e-eš-ta nu*-x […]
5′. […] x *a-ru-ni* GAM-*a*[*n* …]
6′. [… ^{m}*U-ur-š*]*a-na-bi-in-ma* […]
7′. […] ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ[(-) …]
8′. […] x-*zi* KASKAL-*an*[(-) … *e-ep-ta*/*e-ep-pu-un*? …]
9′. *traces*

[…] Gilgamesh […] But Gilgamesh him [… he/she] mixed […] was. Then […] down at the sea […] Urshanabi, however, […] Gilgamesh [… set out(?)] on a journey […]

Perhaps this portion of text belongs in the gap between Tablet 3, §16 and §17.

A.2 iii **1′.** […] x ˹^{d}*Im*˺-*pa-lu-r*[*i*-(-) …]
§1′ **2′.** […]-*aš ú-iz-zi pí*[- …]
3′. [… -*n*]*a*? *ku-in wa-al-l*[*i*?- …]

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§2′ **4′.** […]x-*ša-an-mu e-ep-t*[*a* …]
5′. [… U]R.SAG MAḪ* ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MA[Š(-) …]
6′. [… *p*/*ša-r*]*a-a da-a-i nu*[(-) …]
7′. [… ^{f}*Na-a*]*ḫ-mi-zu-le*[-*en*? …]

§1′ […] Impaluri […] comes […] whom [I(?)] praise.
§2′ […] (s)he seized […] for me […] mighty hero Gilgamesh […] takes [away(?)]. Then […] Nahmizuli […]

The presence of the divine name in line 1′ and the proper name in line 7′ suggests that this material might be placed in that portion of Tablet 3 where the scene shifts from the court of the Sea to the establishment of the barmaid, perhaps following §10.

160. KBo 19, Inhaltsübersicht, p. vii: "nicht zu Nr. 118."

FB. Concerning Ullu

B.1. KUB 8.62
B.2. Bo 5700[161]

Edition: Friedrich 1930: 28–31, 61–66. Translation: Güterbock 1946: 29–31. Study: Bachvarova 2016: 81–84.

B.1 i **1′.** […] ˹*ḫa*˺ x […]
§1′ **2′.** [*nu gi-i*]*m-*˹*ra*˺*-aš ḫu-u-i-tar Ú-U*[*L* …]
3′. ˹*na*-aš**˺ *pa-i*[*z-z*]*i za-at-ra-an ta*[*l-* …]
4′. ˹*ḫa*˺*-li-ya-zi na-an gi-i*[*m-ra-aš ḫu-u-i-tar*? …]

---

§2′ **5′.** *nu gi-im-ra-aš ḫu-u*[*-m*]*a-an-da-aš* [*ḫu-u-it-na-aš* … ^{m}*Ul-lu-uš*?]
6′. *tar-la-a-an*^{MUŠEN} *ta-a-ru-ma-ki-i*[*n*$^{MUŠEN?}$ *ar-ḫa tar-na-i*?]
7′. *nu* ^{d}*Ul-lu-ya kat-ta-an x* […]

---

§3′ **8′.** *nu-kán* ^{URU}*I-it-la* URU-*ri p*[*i*?- …]
9′. *pí-ra-an a-ar-ri nu-za* x […]
10′. *e-ḫu nu-za-kán* ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-up-p*[*ár* … *da-a-i*?]
11′. *nu-kán pa-aḫ-ḫur wa-ar-n*[*u-uz-zi* …]
12′. *nu* A$^{!}$*-aš wa-ar-šu-l*[*a-an* …]
13′. *a-a*<*-an*>*-da-aš* NINDA-*aš wa*[*-ar-šu-la-an* …]
14′. ˹*na*˺*-at ú-wa*[*-a*]*n-zi* [*A-NA* ^{d}U.GUR *ši-pa-an-da-an-zi*?]

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§4′ **15′.** [*nu-za*] ˹*e*˺*-et e-*˹*ku*˺ *nu-za iš-p*[*a-a-i ni-ik* …]
16′. [*nu-k*]*án ir-ma-an* ^{URU}*I-it*[*-la-az ar-ḫa u-i-ya*?]
17′. *nu* ^{GIŠ}KUN$_{5}$.ḪI.A-*uš IŠ-TU* [BÙR$^{ḪI.A}$ *ar-ḫa da-a-i*]
18′. *nu-kán* GIM-*an* 1-*an ir-m*[*a-an* …]
19′. *ir-ma-ni* ^{d}*Ul-lu-ya* […]
20′. *nu* ^{d}*Ul-lu-ya ga-lu-da-aš* […]

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§5′ **21′.** *nu* GIM-*an ka-lu-ti-in*$_{4}$ *ḫa*[-…]
22′. UZU.YÀ *ḫar-pa-a-aš-pát da-a-li*[*-ya-az-zi*]
23′. *nu-uš-ši* TI-*tar me-mi* TI-*za* [*e-eš-du na-aš*]
24′. *an-ze-el i-wa-ar* [*e-eš-du*? …]
25′. ˹*na*˺*-ak-ki-i ŠUM-an-ma d*[*u*?- …]
26′. [o -*š/t*]*a*?-˹*ni*˺ ^{URU}*It-la-aš* UR[U-*aš* …]

(gap)

B.2 **2′.** [… -*e*]*š-ti* x […]
§6′ **3′.** [… EGI]R-*pa* ˹*ta*˺[- …]
4′. […]x-*iš* U[N- …]
5′. […] ^{d}*IŠTAR-i*[*š* …]

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§7′ **6′.** [… *p/ša-r*]*a-a* ˹*tu*?˺*-ri-it*[- …]

161. Available to me only in an old transliteration in the *CHD* files.

B.1 iv **2′.** ˹Á˺MUŠEN-*aš* ˹SILA$_4$˺-*an ša*[*r*-(*a*)*r*?- … (x)]
3′. *nu-uš-ši* TI!-*tar*[162] *pé-eš*[-*ki-id-du nu-uš-ši … -p*(*a*)]
4′. d˹*Šu-uš*˺-*ḫa-ru*[163]-*wa-aš* [TI-*tar* EGIR-*pa le-e da-a-i nu-uš-ši*]
5′. TI-*tar* ˹*e*˺-*eš-ta* d*U*[(*l-lu*)-*ya*? … *pa-ra-a-ma-aš* …]
6′. TI-*aš e-eš-du* dUTU-*uš* […][164]
7′. TI-*za-ma-aš e-eš-du* d*Kat*[- …]

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§8′ **8′.** 5-*an za-an-da-na-tar ša-ra-*˹*a*˺ […]
9′. *am-ba-aš-ši-in za-at-ra-aš* [*ḫar-ap-ta* …]
10′. *nu* d*Ul-lu-ya* ŠU-*an ša-r*[*a-a e-ep-ta*]
11′. TI-*za e-eš* d*Ul-lu pa-ra-a* x […]
12′. *an-ze-el*[165] *i-wa-ar ku-r*[*a*?- …]
13′. dGIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*er uš-ši*^{er} TI-*tar pé-e*[*š-ki*(-*id-du*) … *nu-uš-ši*]
14′. dGIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*ya* TI-*tar* EGIR[-*pa le-e da-a-i* …]
15′. TI-*aš e-eš-d*[*u*] d*Ku-mar-b*[*i*(-) …]
16′. *ki-nu-un-na-aš* TI-*za e-eš-du* […]

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§9′ **17′.** ˹6?˺-*an za-an-*˹*da*˺-*na-tar ša-r*[*a-a* …]
18′. [*a*]*m-*˹*ba*˺-*aš-ši-in*$_4$ *a-na-pa-a-aš* [*ḫar-ap-ta nu* d*Ul-lu-ya*?]
19′. [ŠU-*a*]*n** *ša-ra-a e-ep-t*[*a na-aš*]
20′. ˹ŠU*˺-*za* x x x AN […]
21′. *traces*

§1′ [… And] the beasts of the field not […] he goes … He kneels, and [the beasts of the field …] him.

§2′ And of all [the beasts] of the field [… Ullu releases(?)] the *tarlā-* and the *tārumaki*-birds. And with Ullu […]

§3′ Then he arrives before the city of Itla […], and [he cries out(?)]: "Come!" Then [he takes] a *ḫuppar*-vessel for himself […] and kindles a fire […] And [he prepares(?)] refreshment of water [… and] refreshment of warm bread. Then they proceed [to offer] them [to Nergal(?)].

§4′ (Ullu says): "Eat and drink! Be full [and sated! … Send] the illness [away from] Itla!" Then [he takes] the ladders out of [the offering pit]. And when the single illness […] to the illness and Ullu […] Then Ullu […] of the circle (of deities).

§5′ And when [… he has gathered(?)] the circle (of deities), he leaves the fat even in heaps, (saying): "Promise him life! [Let him be] a living one! [And let him be] like us! […] But a worthy name […]" The city of Itla […]

(gap)

§6′ *Too fragmentary for translation.*

§7′ [" …] The eagle […] the lamb. [Let her] give him life! [And let] Shusharuwa [not take life back from him! And] he had life, did Ullu [… But henceforth …] let him (also) be one possessed of life!" The Sun-god [said(?)]: "Let him be a living one!" […]

§8′ The fifth *zandanatar*: He [heaped] up […] a burnt offering of *zatra*. Then Ullu [lifted] up his hand, (saying): "Be a living one!" Ullu … "Henceforth [let him be(?)] like us! Let Gilgamesh give him life! [And let]

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162. So B.2:8′; text: MÁŠ-*tar*.
163. B.2:9′: -*r*[*i*-.
164. B.2 ends.
165. Erasure follows.

Gilgamesh [not take] life back [from him …]! Let him be one possessed of life! [Let] Kumarbi […] Now let him be a living one!"

§9′ The sixth *zandanatar*: [He heaped] up a burnt offering of *anapā*. [Then] Ullu lifted up his hand [… and] with his hand […]

Commentary

Already Friedrich (1930: 66–67, 79) expressed doubts as to whether this piece belongs to the Gilgamesh Epic (so also J. Klinger 2005: 118 n. 24). Despite my earlier opinion (2001: 165), I now concur with Bachvarova (2016: 81) that the text is a ritual for healing an illness, built around an historiola involving the flood hero. As is apparent from the technical vocabulary, the rite is of Hurro-Luwian background, as is further indicated by mention of Kumarbi.

I understand the situation as follows: The scene is after the Deluge, following which the once-mortal survivor Ullu(ya) had been granted eternal life. On the other hand, the semimortal Gilgamesh has passed on to the netherworld, where he has taken up his role as judge of the dead.[166] The recitation of the ceremony with its narrative allusions—of which we have only a part[167]—makes use of the salient characteristics of these two personages. Ullu seeks (temporary) life for the sufferer from illness through his offerings, while Gilgamesh is enjoined not to strip that boon from him.

§2′ *FB.1 i* 5′: The mention of "all [the beasts] of the field" and the release(?) of birds immediately following brings to mind the disembarkment from the ark of Ūt-napishtim/Atra-ḫasīs.

FB.1 i 6′: The identity of the birds mentioned here is uncertain. Previously, Greppin 1975 has suggested "stork" for *tarla-*, while Hoffner 1966: 396 puts forth "woodpecker" for *tarumaki-*. These interpretations were based solely on etymology and on word formation, respectively, and remain doubtful.

§3′ *FB.1 i 8′*: ^{URU}Itla is found only here; cf. del Monte and Tischler 1978: 157. One expects it to correspond to Shuruppak (^{URU}LAMxKUR-RU), the home town of the Mesopotamian flood hero.

FB.1 i 10′: For ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-up-p*[*ár-al-li*], "pot-stand," see Košak 1982: 21.

FB.1 i 12′: Examination of the photo seems to show either A-*aš* or NINDA-*aš* (so KhT). One ideogram has clearly been written over the other. Since the following paragraph speaks of both eating and drinking, I have opted for the former reading.

FB.1 i 14′: Since the offering here is made in connection with a request for healing, the divine recipient should have some special relationship with the sphere of illness, death, and recovery. I have tentatively supplied Nergal on analogy to the role of ^{d}NAM.TAR in abating his plague in the OB Atrahasis (see Lambert and Millard 1969: 69 lines 380ff.). His presence would also be most appropriate in a context where contact is sought with with the powers of the underworld.

§4′ *FB.1 i 16′*: For the restoration of the verb *wiya-*, cf. *KUB* 14.13 (CTH 378.IV) iv 18–19: *nu-kán* UG$_6$-*an* [KUR]-*e-az ar-ḫa nam-ma u-i-ya-at-tén* and KUB 14.14 (CTH 378.I) iv 45′–46′: *nu-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ [*B*]*E-LU*^{MEŠ}-*YA* ˹*ú*˺[-*wa-at-tén*] *ḫi-in-k*[*án ar-ḫa ú*]-*i-ya-at-tén.*

FB.1 i 17′: On model ladders in Hittite magic, see Hoffner 1967: 390, 397.

§5′ *FB.1 i 22′*: For *ḫarpaš–pat* as "heap of meatfat," see *HED* Ḫ, 180.

166. See George 2003: 127–30 for this final phase of the hero's career.

167. One might reasonably expect that four additional *zandanatar* were described in the lost portion preceding the preserved col. iv, and that a seventh followed. See Haas and Thiel 1978: 186–87; Dardano 2006: 71–72; and Strauß 2006: 20 n. 28 for the significance of the number seven in Hittite magic.

§7 *FB.1 iv 4′*: Most commentators (e.g., KhT) have accepted the writing MÁŠ-*tar* and rendered the word "family" or similar. My emendation TI⌈-*tar* is based on the duplicate, of which, however, I have admittedly only seen a transliteration.

FB.1 iv 4′: The deity Shusharuwa, whose gender and other characteristics remain unknown, appears only here; see van Gessel 1998, 1: 416.

§8′ *FB.1 iv 8′*: *zandanatar*, a Luwian(?) abstract presumably from the verb **zandanai-*, is found only in this composition. It is probably a term for an offering or rite. The only remark known to me concerning this lexeme is by Laroche 1961: 71, who mentions it in connection to the city name URU*Zantananta* (KBo 30.128 [CTH 670] i 14).

FB.1 iv 11′: For *parā* as "henceforth," see *CHD* P, 123.

§9′ *FB.1 iv 18′*: For *ambaššin ḫarp-*, see Haas 1970: 292–93. Cf. *a-na-ap,* KUB 47.68[168] obv. 9:] *a-na-ap u-uḫ-ḫa ḫi-ša-⌈a⌉*-x [.

FB.1 Left Edge: Here is found an indecipherable drawing, pictured in fig. 1. This drawing is not discussed in Ünal 1989, presumably because it is not included in Weidner's copy in KUB 8. It is also invisible in the photo on KhT.

Fig. 1. Bo 4817 left edge. Photograph by the author.

168. Not KUB 46.6 as in Laroche 1978–1979: 49.

FC. Miscellaneous

FC.1. KBo 19.120 ii

ii

§1′ **1.** [*n*]*u ka-a-*⌜*ša*⌝ *Ú-U*[*L* …]
2. *pa-a-mi nu ku-it-ma-*⌜*an*⌝[…]
3. *nu-mu-kán e-da-aš pa-aš-ša-*x[(-) … *am-ba-aš-ši-in*?]
4. *šal-li* ^{d}UTU-*i wa-ar-nu-uš-k*[*i-mi* … GIM-*an-ma*?]
5. EGIR-*pa Ú-UL ú-wa-a-mi* […]
6. *nu-mu ag-ga*<-*an*>-*ta-an ḫar-kán-t*[*a-an* EGIR-*pa ú-da*?]

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§2′ **7.** *nu* GIM-*an* ^{URU}*U-RU-KUM-ni*<-*uš*?> A.ŠÀ A.G[ÀR.ḪI.A-*uš a-ut-ti*?]
8. *nu ú-iš-ki nu ḫa-lu-kán tar-n*[*a-i* GIM-*an-ma-at*]
9. *ḫa-lu-kán iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-z*[*i nu-ut-ta*]
10. [*ḫ*]*u-u-ma-an-za* IGI-*an-da ú-iz-z*[*i* …]
11. *traces*

§1′ "And I am not ready to go […] And while […], for me on that … I will burn [an offering] to the great Sun-god. [… But if] I do not return, [… bring] me [back], dead or ruined.

§2′ "And when [you see] the fields of Uruk, cry out and send a message. [But when] they hear the message, [then] everyone will come to meet [you …]"

This speech was probably made by Gilgamesh prior to setting out on the perilous expedition to the Cedar Forest. His planned offering to the Sun-god perhaps accounts for the aid that this deity would later provide the heroes (Tablet 1, §§19-21). The second paragraph is addressed to a single person, almost certainly Enkidu, and it is very likely that the first section is too. The fragment is most likely to be placed after Tablet 1, §13.

FC.2. KBo 19.122

1′. [… (-)*d*]*a-a-aš* ^{d}GIŠ$^{!}$.GIM.MAŠ-*u*[*n* …]
2′. […] x ⌜^{d}⌝GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*un* […]
3′. […] *erasure* […]
4′. […] ⌜^{d}*Gul*⌝-*š*[*e-eš* …]

Too fragmentary for translation.

Perhaps this piece belongs with Tablet 3, §9.

FC.3. KBo 22.92

1′. [… ^{d}*E*]*n-ki-du*$_4$*-uš* ⸢^{d}⸣[…]
2′. […] ⸢^{d}⸣GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*uš* LU[GAL-*uš* …]
3′. [… *me*]-*mi-iš-ki-iz-z*[*i* …]
4′. [… *nu-u*]*š-ma-aš-ma*(-)[…]
5′. […]x *ki-i*[*š-ša-an*$^{?}$ …]
6′. *traces*

Too fragmentary for translation.

Elsewhere in our material, the epithet LUGAL, "king," occurs only in §18′ of Tablet 3 (C iii 2′–3′).

FC.4. KBo 26.102

1′. *traces*

---

§1′ **2′.** [… *ki-i*]*š*-ša-an* x […]
3′. […] x GIŠ-*ru l*[*a-ak-nu-ut* …]
4′. [… GIŠ-*r*]*u la-ak-*⸢*nu-ut*⸣[…]
5′. [… ^{d}UTU *n*]*e-pí-ša-aš e-ḫ*[*u*$^{?}$ …]
6′. [… *-p*]*a-an-za ki-ša-a*[*t* …]
7′. [… *Ú-U*]*L iš-du-wa-a-r*[*i* …]

---

§2′ **8′.** [… *ne-pí-ša-az kat-t*]*a* ^{d}UTU [*ŠA-ME-E* / AN^{E} …]
9′. […] x-*ga*[(-) …]

§1′ "[…] thus [… He felled] the tree! […] He felled [the tree! …] Come, [O Sun-god] of Heaven! […] he became … […] is [not] revealed."

§2′ The Sun-god [of Heaven looked(?) down from the heavens …]

For lines 3′–4′, see *CHD* L, 19.

Since neither the hero himself nor any other character of his cycle, save the Sun-god, is mentioned here and the vocabulary for felling trees differs from that otherwise employed in Tablet 2, §2, this fragment may well not be part of a Gilgamesh text.

FC.5. FsGüterbock[2] 61, no. 5

Translation: Bachvarova 2016: 83 n. 19.

obv.? *Traces of the initial signs of two lines*
rev.?
§1′ **1′.** *traces*
2′ ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*aš* ^{d}U[TU-*i*? …]
3′. *ḫa-šir-mu-za ku-e-da*[-*ni* UD-*ti* KASKAL-*an*? …]
4′. GISKIM-*az ša-aq-qa-aḫ-ḫ*[*i* …]
5′. *nu a-pé-e-da-ni* UD-*ti* ˹AN˺[- …]
6′. *1-˹e-da-ni-ma˺ ḫa-a-l*[*i* …]

---

§2′ **7′.** *nu-za-kán* DINGIR^{LIM}-*YA* ^{d}[UTU? …]
8′. *ša-a-it nu* ^{d}[UTU? …]
9′. *ka-ru-ú za*[- …]
10′. 4 *ME* MU.KAM.ḪI.˹A˺[…]
11′. *ta-r*[*a*?- …]
12′. ˹^{d}˺[…]

§1′ Gilgamesh [said(?) to(?) the Sun-god …]: "On the day that [the path(?)] was opened for me and I learned […] from the omen, on that day [I …] During the first watch […]

§2′ "Then my god, [the Sun(?)]-god […] became angry, and [the Sun-god(?) …] formerly […] 400 years […]

FC.6. KBo 60.14

1′. […] ˹*nu-uš-ma-aš-kán*?˺[…]
2′. […]-˹*a*˺-*ni-i ar-nu-mi*
3′. […] *Ú-UL i*[*š*-…]
4′. […] x *Ú-U*[*L* …]
5′. […] ˹*ar*˺[…]

Too fragmentary for translation.

FC.7. KBo 22.94

1′. […]-*an i*-x […]
2′. [… ^{d}*Ḫ*]*u-wa-wa-ká*[*n* …]
3′. [… *n*]*u-wa ma-w*[*a*?- …]
4′. [… GIŠ?]-*ru ta*-[…]
5′. [… (-)*i*]*š*-x […]

Too fragmentary for translation.

FC.8. KBo 45.224

§1′ **1′.** […]
2′. [… *-z*]*i*

---

§2′ **3′.** [… *t*]*u-ri-ya-aš*
4′. [… *-z*]*i*? ^{f}*Sí-du-ri*
5′. […] ALAM
6′. [… *k*]*at-ta*
7′. […] x-*zi*

Too fragmentary for translation.

FC.9. KBo 19.115

1′. [^{d}*E*]*n-ki-tu*$_{4}$-[…]
2′. *me-mi-iš-ki*[*-iz-zi* …]
3′. *QA-TAM-MA* x […]
4′. *tu-e-el* ˹^{d}˺[…]
5′. *nu-wa ku-it-m*[*a-an* …]
6′. *na-a-ú-i pa-iz-zi*[169]

Too fragmentary for translation.

FC.10. KBo 60.327

1′. […]
2′. [… ^{U}]^{RU}*A-r*[*i-* …]
3′. […] 2 ALA[M …]
4′. […] ˹*I-NA*˺[…]

Too fragmentary for translation.

Cf. Tablet 3, §11′.

169. In the space between this line and the paragraph stroke there is an erasure of two or three signs.

APPENDIX: CTH 347—ATRA-ḪASĪS

Akkadian Version

Ap1.1. KBo 36.26

Comments: Siegelová 1970: 138–39; Archi 2007: 186.

§1′ **1′.** [… B]I$^{?}$(-)^{r}MI$^{?\urcorner}$-Z[U$^{?}$(-) …]
2′. [… -B]I$^{?}$ *ú-ša-an*[*-ni* …]
3′. […] *er-ṣé-t*[*i* …]

---

§2′ **4′.** […] x *pí-i-š*[*u i*]*p-pu-ša*[*-am* …]
5′. [… *n*]*u-bi-*^{r}*lam mi*$^{?}$*-im*$^{?\urcorner}$*-m*[*a*$^{!?}$ …]
6′. [… *t*]*i-du-ma a-*[*w*]*a-at* x […]
7′. […] *x qé-ra-a x* […]

---

§3′ **8′.** [… *pí*]*-i-šu i-ip-pu-ša-am* x […]
9′. […] *ḫu-ur-ša-a-ni*[*m* …]
10′. […] ^{m}*At-ra-am-ḫa-si-ís* LÚ-x […]
11′. [… *i*]*ṭ-ṭú-ul a-wa-ta*$_{5}$ *iš-me* […]
12′. [… *a*]*m*$^{?}$*-ra-a-ma an-ni-*^{r}*i-ta*$_{5}$$^{\urcorner}$ *šu-*^{r}*bi*$^{\urcorner}$*-l*[*a-a*$^{?}$*-nim*$^{?}$ …]
13′. *traces*

§1′ […] he changes […] the earth […]

§2′ […] he opens his mouth [and says, "…] we brought. Something(?) […] you know, and […] the matter of […] invite! […]

§3′ […] he opens his mouth [and says, " …] the mountains […"] Atram-hasis, the […]-man […] he looked [at …], he heard the matter. [… "Find(?)] and send this here!" […]

The imperatives in lines 7′ and 12′ are second-person plural.

Ap1.2. KBo 36.74

§1′ **1′.** […] ˹EZEN˺? x x […]

---

§2′ **2′.** […] x *ma-a-na-ḫa-ti*
3′. […] EN TE NA x […]

§1′ […] festival […]
§2′ […] efforts […] … […]

Assignment of this fragment to the Gilgamesh epic is very uncertain.

Hittite Version

Ap2.1. KUB 8.63 + KBo 53.5

Editions: Güterbock 1946: 30–31, 81–83, 29*–30* (partial); Polvani 2003. Transliteration: Laroche 1968: 189–90. Study: Miller 2005.

i

§1′ **1′.** […] BI x x x x […]
2′. [*i*]*š*ˀ-⸢*ḫa*ˀ-x-*at*ˀ⸣ […] ⸢*i*⸣-*ya-mi* ⸢*a*⸣-*ra-aš-wa-mu*
3′. *nu**-*wa-at-ta* […]-*mi ak-ti-ma-wa*

---

§2′ **4′.** [*nu*] GIM-*an* ᵐ*Ḫa-am-ša-aš* ⸢*ŠA*⸣ ᵈ*Ku-mar-bi* INIM.MEŠ *IŠ*[-*ME*]
5′. [*n*]*u A-NA* ᵐ*At-ra-am-ḫa-ši* DUMU-*ŠU me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an* [*da-a-iš*]
6′. *ku*ˡ-*e A-WA-TE*ᴹᴱŠ *me-mi-iš-*⸢*ta*⸣ *nu-wa-ra-at iš-ta-ma-a*[*š-šu-un* …]
7′. [o o]-⸢BIˀ-*iš*ˀ-x-x⸣ *A-NA* EZEN-⸢*ma*⸣-*wa-<ra>-at-ta ku-e-da-ni ḫal-z*[*i-iš-ša-i*ˀ]
8′. [o o o o o o -*u*]*n a-aš-ši-an-za*ˡ *ku-it a-ra-aš e-eš*[-*ta*ˀ …]
9′. [o o o] x x [o] ⸢*da*⸣-*an-du-*⸢*kiš*⸣-*n*[*a*ˡ-*a*]*š*ˡ <DUMU-*aš*> GIM-*an ak-kiš-kat-ta* […]
10′. [o o o o] ⸢*a*ˀ⸣ [o o] *ar-nu-ši* ALAM *IṢ-ṢÍ i-ya ma-*[…]
11′. [o o o o o o o] *kiš-an me-mi* ᵐ*Ḫa-am-ša-an-wa*
12′. *traces*

(large gap)

A iv

§3′ **1′.** […]-⸢*zi*ˀ⸣ *e-eš-z*[*i* …]

---

§4′ **2′.** [ᵐ*A*]*t-ra-am-ḫa-ši-*[*i*]*š* ᵐ*Ḫa-am-š*[*a-aš-ša* …]
3′. [*nu*ˀ *a*]-*pé-el* A.ŠÀ.MEŠ *da-me-*⸢*e*⸣[-*ta-ni* …]
4′. [o o] x x .ḪI.A *da-me-e-t*[*a-ni* …]
5′. [*nu*ˀ *a-p*]*é-el* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A *ku-*⸢*e*⸣[-*ta-ni* …]
6′. [*o o -d*]*a*ˀ-*ma-za ku-i-e-eš da*[-*an-zi* …]

---

§5′ **7′.** [*I-NA* M]U.3.KAM-*ma-kán* ᵈ*Ku-mar*[-*bi*(-) …]
8′. [o o]-*re-e-ša-an ú-e-ri-<<ri>>*[-*ya-an-zi* …]
9′. [*o o*]-⸢*ḫa*⸣-*ri-an-za nu ḫu-u-ma-an iš-t*[*a-ma-aš-ta* …]

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§6′ **10′.** ᵐ*Ḫa-am-ša-aš A-NA* ᵐ*At-ra-am-ḫa-ši* DUMU-*ŠU m*[*e*ˡ-*mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš* …]
11′. ᵈ*Ku-mar-bi-iš ke-e-da-ni* MU.KAM-*ti at*[- …]
12′. *la-la-ú-e-ša-aš ga-ra-pí nu ki-iš-š*[*a-an me-ma-aš*ˀ …]
13′. ⸢*ḫu-ta-nu-en-zi da-a nu ma-a-an l*[*a-la-ú-e-ša-aš* …]
14′. ⸢*ḫa-ar-ša-an-ta-an-ma-kán* ⸢*ḫu-u-ta-nu*[-*en-zi*ˀ …]
15′. *nu-wa* ᴳᴵŠMAR.GÍD.DA.MEŠ *pé-en-ni nu-wa* [ᴳᴵŠGIGIR.MEŠˀ …]
16′. *pé-en-ni nu-wa-za ḫal-ki-in d*[*a*]-⸢*a*ˀ⸣ […]
17′. *erasure*

---

§7′ **18′.** ⸢ᵐ⸣*At-ra-am-ḫa-ši-iš* ᵐ*Ḫa-am-ša-aš*[-*ša* …]
19′. ⸢*a*⸣-*ra-aḫ-*⸢*za*⸣-*an-ta ḪI-RI-TU*₄ᴴᴵ.ᴬ x […]

20′. ⌜m⌝*At-r*[*a-a*]*m-ḫa-ši pa-*⌜*it*⌝ […]
21′. [o o-*m*]*a*ʔ*-kán* ⸢*ḫa-ar*[*-ša-an-ta*(-) …]
22′. [o] x-*iš* 1-*e-da-n*[*i* …]
23′. [GIŠMAR].GÍD.⌜DA.MEŠ⌝ *p*[*é*ʔ- …]

§1′ "[…] I will do. My friend, you have come to me, and I will […] you, but you will die."

§2′ [And] when Hamsha heard the words of Kumarbi, then [he began] to speak to his son, Atram-hasi: "[I] heard the words that he spoke […] But to the festival to which […] you […] because he was a beloved friend […] As a mortal must always die, […] you will bring. Make a wooden image […] speak as follows: 'Hamsha […]'"

(*gap*)

§3′ *Too fragmentary for translation.*

§4′ Atram-hasi and Hamsha [… and on] his other field […] other [… And on] which field […] whatever persons [take …]

§5′ But [in] the third year, Kumarbi […] … [they call] … And [he heard] everything.

§6′ Hamsha [began to speak] to his son, Atram-hasi: "In this year Kumarbi will …] The ant will eat …" And [he said(?)] as follows: "Take the *ḫūtanu*! And when [the ant …], the *ḫaršanta* and the *ḫūtanu* […] Drive out in the wagons! Drive out [in the chariots]! Take the grain for yourself […] !"

§7′ Atram-hasi [and] Hamsha […] outside, the shields […] Atram-hasi […]

Commentary

§2: Hamsha, Akkadian "Fifty," is an epithet of Enlil. See Nötscher 1927: 10–11. The Hittite scribe has interpreted the name m*At-ra-am-ḫa-ši-iš* as a Nesite i-stem.

Ap2.2. KUB 36.74

Editions: Siegelová 1970; Polvani 2003: 532.

iii

§1′ **1′.** *traces*
2′. [*o o o*] ˹*a-im-pa-an*˺ *ar-du-me-e-ni*

---

§2′ **3′.** ˹*ki*˺*-nu-un-ma-wa* KIN-*ti ḫa-an-da-aš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*i*[*ŠU*]
4′. ^{d}EN.LÍL-*ya* IGI-*an-da ti-e-er*

---

§3′ **5′.** ^{d}*Nu-uš-qa-aš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš ud-da-a-ar iš-t*[*a-ma-aš-ta*]
6′. *na-aš* EGIR-*pa* EN-*aš-ši kat-ta-an pa-it*
7′. *nu* EN-*aš-ši* EGIR-*pa me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an* [*da-a-iš*]
8′. EN-*mi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš-mu ku-it tu-li-ya*[*-aš pé-di na-it-ta*]
9′. *nu-za pa-a-u-un* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš pí-ra-an* GUB[*-ḫa-ḫa-at*]
10′. *nu-uš-ma-aš tu-e-el me-mi-an me-m*[*a-aḫ-ḫu-un*]

---

colophon 11′. […] *Ú-UL*^{er} *QA-TI* […]

§1′ "[…] We will cut off the burden."

§2′ "But now because of the work, the gods have confronted Enlil."

§3′ Nusku [heard] the words of the gods, went back down to his lord, and [began] to report back to his lord: "My lord, because [you sent me to the place] of assembly of the gods, I proceeded [to stand] before the gods and [spoke] your word to them."

Colophon. […] Incomplete. […]

Commentary

Colophon: The text of this section probably stretched over the lower portions of both columns iii and iv, so that important information has been lost with the disappearance of the latter. See Waal 2015: 276. This placement of the colophon might indicate that the complete tablet was originally bilingual.

Ap2.3. KBo 47.147

Transliteration: Groddek 2011: 130–31. Study: Soysal 2013: 698.

obv.

§1 **1.** […] ˹*a-uš*?*-ta*?˺

2. […] *x x -e-la*!?*-ma-an* x x-[*r*]*i-ir*

---

§2 **3.** […] x-*ša-*˹*an*˺ URU-[*r*]*i še-*˹*er*˺ *ḫa-me-eš-*[*ḫ*]*a-an-da*

4. […].MEŠ *pár-*˹*ḫu*?*-e*?*-na*?˺*-aš pár-*˹*ni*˺ *an-da e-*˹*eš*˺*-z*[*i*]

---

§3 **5.** [… *-š/t*]*a-an ŠUM-an*

6. [… *-a*]*š pár-ni an-da* ˹*še*?˺*-šu-un*

7. […] *x-aḫ-ḫi*

---

§4 **8.** [… *t*]*a-pár-ri-ya-aš-šum-mi-in* [o] x x x

9. […] x-*aš ta-pár-ri-y*[*a-* …]

10. […] x-˹*na*˺*-iz-z*[*i* …]

11. […] x-*ki* […]

rev.

§5′ **1′.** […] x x […]

2′. […] x […]

3′. [… *na-a*]*n-*˹*kán*˺ […]

4′. [… *a*]*n*?*-da a-uš-z*[*i* …]

---

§6′ **5′.** […]*-šar-mi-it iš-t*[*a-* …]

6′. [… *n*]*a-aš-ta* KUR^{1}-[*a*]*n-za ar-ḫa* […]

7′. [… *-t*]*i*?

---

§7′ **8′.** [… *me-mi-iš-ki-u-w*]*a-an da-a-iš ḫal-zi-eš-te-na-a*[*n* …]

9′. […] x-*e-ni* ^{m}[*W*]*a-*˹*tar*^{er}*-ra-ḫa*˺*-ši-iš* […]

10′. […] *pí-ra-an-še-mi-it ti*[*-ya-at*?]

---

§1 […] he saw […] they […] the […].
§2 […] up in the city until spring […] is in the house of the *p.*-grain.
§3 […] name […] I slept in the house of […] I will […].
§4 […] your command […] command […] he […].
…
§5′ […] he/she looks in […].
§6′ He/she heard(?) my […] And the land/population utterly […]
§7′ He/she began [to speak], “You (pl.) call him! We will […]” Watara-hasis [… stepped(?)] before them.

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INDEXES TO HITTITE-LANGUAGE TEXTS

(Forms from duplicate manuscripts are listed only if they differ from those in the main text.)

Hittite

a- prn. "this"

acc.sg.c. *u-ni-in* **1.D**$_a$ i 9′; **1.B**$_a$:8′
gen.sg. *e-da-aš* **FC**.1 ii 3

-a(-) encl.pers.prn.

1.sg.dat./acc. *-mu*(-) **1.B**$_b$:4′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 30′; **1.H**:7′; **2.B** rev. 13′; **3.A**$_a$ i 19; **3.B** iii 4′; **3.C** iv 13′; **3.D** iv 4′; **3.H**:3′; **FA.2** iii 4′$^?$; **FC.1** ii 3, 6; **FC.5** rev. 3′; **Ap2.1** i 2′; **Ap2.2** iii 8′
2.sg.dat./acc. *-ta*(-) **1.B**$_b$:5′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 32′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 6; **2.B** rev. 2′; **3.C** iii 10′; **Ap2.1** i , 3′, 7′
-du(-) **1.C**$_b$ iv 31′
3.sg.nom.c. *-aš*(-) **1.A**$_a$ i 11; **A**$_b$ i 3′; **1.C** iv 4′; **1.D**$_a$ i 4′, 6′; **1.D**$_c$ i 4′, iv 11, 30; **1.H**:7′, 15′, 16′, 18′; **3.B** ii 2′, 8′; **3.C** ii 4, 12, iv 13′; **3.E**:1′, 5′; **FB.1** i 3′, iv 7′, 16′; **Ap2.2** iii 6′
3.sg.acc.c. *-an*(-) **1.A**$_a$ i 1; **1.C**$_b$ iv 37′; **1.D**$_a$ i 11′; **1.H**:8′; **2.A**$_a$ i 3; **3.A**$_a$ i 12; **3.A**$_b$ ii 2, 3; **3.D** iv 2′; **3.G**:2′; **FA.1**:2′$^?$; **FB.1** i 4′; **Ap2.3** rev. 8′
3.sg.nom./acc.n. *-at*(-) **2.A**$_b$ ii 8
3.sg.dat. *-ši*(-) **1.A**$_a$ i 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; **1.A**$_b$ i 8′; **1.B**$_a$:5′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 20′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 14′, 26′, 27′; **1.D**$_c$ i 21′, iv 5, 14; **1.D**$_f$ ii 6′; **3.A**$_a$ i 18; **3.B** iii 10′; **3.C** ii 1; **FB.1** i 23′, iv 3′, 13′
2.pl.dat./acc. *-šmaš*(-)
-V*š-ma-aš*(-) **1.D**$_c$ iv 18, 19; **1.F**:8′
3.pl.nom.c. *-at*(-) **2.A**$_b$ ii 7; **2.C** ii 4′, 8′; **3.E**:7′
3.pl.acc.c. *-aš*(-) **1.A**$_c$ i 5′, 14′; **1.D**$_c$ i 18′, 25′, iv 21, 22; **1.D**$_g$ ii 24′, iii 18′; **1.F**:6′; **1.G**:3′; **3.B** iii 4′, 5′, 6′
3.pl.nom./acc.n. *-at*(-) **1.A**$_c$ i 11′; **1.D**$_a$ i 23′; **2.A** obv. 6, 8; **3.C** iii 23′, 24′, 25′; **FB.1** i 14′; **Ap2.1** i 6′
3.pl.dat./acc. *-šmaš*(-) *-aš-ma-aš*(-) **1.A**$_b$ i 2′$^!$; **1.C** iii 13′; **1.D**$_c$ i 12′, iv 8, 16, 17, 25; **1.D**$_g$ iii 6′; **1.E**$_a$ iii 3′; **1.F**:2′, 4′, 11; **1.H**: 18′]; **2.A**$_a$ ii 9, 10, 12, 13; **2.C** ii 6′; **3.A**$_a$ i 15; **3.C** iii 28′; **FC.3**:4′$^?$; **FC.**6: 1′$^?$; **Ap2.2** iii 10′

-a(-) conj. "but"

-CV-C*a* **1.D**$_c$ i 12′; **FA.2** iii 4′

-a/ya(-) conj. "and"

-VC-C*a* **1.A**$_b$ i 10′; **1.A**$_c$ i 10′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 6′, 21′; **1.D**$_c$ i 3′, 5′, 22′; **1.D**$_d$ iv 2, 3; **1.D**$_g$ iii 3′, 11′; **1.H**: 11′; **3.A**$_a$ i 8, 13, 21; **3.C** iii 26′, 28′; **3.D** iv 1′; **3.F**: 2′, 8′; **FB.1** iv 16′
-(C)V-*ya* **1.A**$_a$ i 1; **1.A**$_b$ i 9′[; **1.D**$_c$ i 11′; **2.B** rev. 5′

	-V*z-zi-ya* **2.B** rev. 5′ ideogram/Stammform-*ya* **1.Dg** iii 16′**; 3.Aa** i 4**; FB.1** iv 14′**; Ap2.2** iii 4′
aimpa- c. “burden”	acc.sg. *a-im-pa-an* **Ap2.2** iii 2′
ak- “to die”	prs.2.sg. *ak-ti* **Ap2.1** i 3′ prs.3.sg. *a-ki* **3.A**$_a$ i 10, 14 imp.3.sg. *ak-du* **3.A**$_a$ i 9 prs.3.pl.iter. *ak-ku-uš-kán-zi* **2.C** ii 4′[prs.3.sg.mid.iter. *ak-kiš-kat-ta* **Ap2.1** i 9′
ppl. *akkant-* “dead”	acc.sg.c. *ag-ga-an-ta-an* **FC.1** ii 6′
verbal subs. *aggatar* n. “death”	gen.sg. *ag-ga-an-na-aš* **3.C** iii 16′
ḫakka- c. “pit”	acc.pl. *ḫak-ku-uš* **1.A**$_c$ i 10′; **1.D**$_c$ i 14′, 22′
ḫakkati- c. “animal trap”	acc.pl. *ḫag-ga-ti-uš* **1.A**$_c$ i 12′; **1.D**$_c$ i 24′]
^{GIŠ}*alkištan-* c. “branch”	acc. pl. ^{GIŠ}*al-kiš-ta-nu-uš* **1.D**$_g$ iii 16′
ambaššši- c. “burnt offering”	acc. sg. *am-ba-aš-ši-in* **FB.1** iv 9′ *am-ba-aš-ši-in*$_4$ **FB.1** iv 18′
anapā- c.? (unknown substance)	gen.sg. *a-na-pa-a-aš* **FB.1 iv 18′**
aniyatt- c. “implement; work”	dat./loc.sg. KIN-*ti* **Ap2.2** iii 3′
ānt- adj. “warm”	gen.sg. *a-a-<an>-da-aš* **FB.1** i 13′
anda adv. “in(to)”	*an-da* **1.A**$_a$ i 14; **1.A**$_b$ i 4′, 5′; **1.A**$_c$ i 5′; **1.C** iii 17′, 21′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 13′; **1.D**$_a$ i 11′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 15; **1.E**$_a$ ii 7′; **Ap2.3** obv. 4, 6, rev. 4′?
antuḫša- c. “human”	sg.nom. UN-*aš* **1.H**:14′ sg.acc. UN-*an* **3.C** ii 5 ^{LÚ}*A-WI-LIM* **1.E**$_a$ ii 12′?
apa- prn. “that (one)”	nom.sg.c. *a-pa-a-aš* **1.A**$_c$ i 11′, 13′; **1.C** iv 8′; **1.D**$_c$ i 25′]; **1.D**$_d$ iv 2; **3.F**:6′] gen.sg. *a-pé-e-el* **3.I**:5′ *a-pé-el* **Ap2.1** iv 3′], 5′] dat./loc.sg. *a-pé-e-da-ni* **FC.6** rev. 5′ abl. *a-pé-e-ez* **1.D**$_g$ iii 3′ nom.pl. *a-pu-u-uš* **3.A**$_a$ i 6 *a-pu-uš* **1.C**$_a$ iii 6′ acc.pl. *a-pu-u-uš* **3.D** iv 3′ *a-pu-uš* **3.B** iii 3′
appa(*n*) adv. “back”	EGIR-*pa* **1.A**$_d$ i 2′; **1.B**$_a$:1′, 10′; **1.B**$_b$:3′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 17′, 25′, 27′, 29′; **1.E**$_a$ 5′; **1.E**$_b$: 9′; **2.A**$_b$ i 1, 4; **2.B** rev. 6′; **3.A**$_a$ i 2, 11; **3.B** ii 2′; **3.C** iii 8′, 14′; **3.G**:3′; **3.H**:4′; **FB.1** iv 14′[; **FC.1** ii 5; **Ap2.2** iii 6′, 7′ EGIR-*an* **1.B**$_a$:7′
appanda adv. “behind; thereafter”	EGIR-*an-da* **3.E**:12′
apeniššan adv. “in that manner; thus”	*QA-TAM-MA* **1.G**:3′; **2.A** obv. 6; **3.C** ii 7; **FC.9**: 3′

ar- "to stand"	prs.2.sg. *ar-ta-ti* **1.H**:12′[? prt.1.sg. GUB-*ḫa-ḫa-at* **Ap2.2** iii 9′[?
ar- "to come, arrive"	prs.2.sg. *a-ar-ti* **3.C** iii 17′ prs.3.sg. *a-ar-ri* **FB.1** i 9′ (*piran*) prt.3.sg. *a-ar-aš* **1.A**$_a$ i 11; **1.D**$_g$ iii 22′]; **3.B** iii 9′; **3.C** ii 14[prt.3.pl. *e-ri-ir* **1.D**$_g$ iii 4′, 5′
$^{(LÚ)}$*ara-* c. "friend, comrade"	nom.sg. *a-ra-aš* **Ap2.1** i 2′, 8′ acc.sg. ^{LÚ}*a-ra-an* **1.E** ii 3′ pl. ^{LÚ}*TAP-PÍ-ŠU<-NU>* **3.A**$_a$ i 16
araḫzanda adv. "around"	*a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da* **Ap2.1** iv 19′[
arai- "to hold back"	prs.3.sg. *a-ra-iz-zi* **1.C**$_b$ 22′
arai- "to rise up"	prt.3.pl. *a-ra-a-ir* **1.C**$_b$ iv 24′ prs.3.pl. iter. *a-ri-iš-kán-ta-ri* **1.D**$_c$ iv 27 *a-re-eš-kán-ta-ri* **1.F**:13′]
arḫa adv. "away"	*ar-ḫa* **1.A**$_b$ i 3′; **1.B**$_b$:2′; **1.C**$_a$ ii 7′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 28′, 30′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 25; **1.D**$_g$ ii 11′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 11; **3.C** ii 4, 8; **3.E**:3′; **3.G**:6′; **Ap2.3** rev. 6′
arḫa- c. "month"	ITI.1.KAM **3.C** iii 28′
arriya- "to be restless"	prs.3.pl. *ar-ri-ya-an-<ta>-ti* **1.D**$_c$ iv 26[; **1.C**$_b$ iv 8′]
arkuwar n. "plea, prayer"	nom.acc.sg. *ar-ku-wa-ar* **1.C**$_b$ iv 20′[
arnu- "to bring"	prs.1.sg. *ar-nu-mi* **1.D**$_c$ iv 20; **FC.6**: 2′ prs.2.sg. *ar-nu-ši* **Ap2.1** i 10′ prt.1.sg. *ar-nu-nu-un* **1.F**:6′, 9′ prt.3.sg. *ar-nu-ut* **1.D**$_c$ iv 23
arš- "to flow"	prs.3.pl. *ar-ši-ya-an-zi* **1.D**$_c$ iv 32][ppl.nom.pl.c. *ar-ša-an-te-eš* **1.D**$_g$ iii 14′
ardu- "to cut, fell"	prs.1.pl. *ar-du-me-e-ni* **Ap2.2** iii 2′
aruna- c. "sea"	nom.sg. *a-ru-na-aš* **3.E**:6′[acc.sg. *a-ru-na-an* **3.E**:10′; **3.C** iii 15′ dat./loc. *a-ru-ni* **3.E**:4′[, 5′; **FA.1**:5′ frag. *a-ru-na*[- **3.G**:1′ See also ^{d}Aruna
aššiyant- adj. "beloved"	nom.sg.c. *a-aš-ši-an-za* **Ap2.1** i 8′! nom.pl.c. *a-aš-ši-ya-an-te-eš* **1.D**$_g$ iii 12′
ašešanu- "to settle (trans.)"	prt.3.sg. *a-še-ša-nu-ut* **1.C**$_b$ iv 17′
aššu- adj. "good"	nom./acc.n. *a-aš-šu* **3.F**:1′
-(a)šta sentence particle	*-aš-ta* **Ap2.3** rev. 6′ *-°š-ta* **1.A**$_b$ i 8′
auš- "to see"	prt.3.sg. *a-uš-ta* **1.C**$_b$ iv 11′], 13′]; **1.D**$_a$ i 5′ (*kattan*); **1.D**$_c$ iv 29 (*šarā*), 31[

	(*anda*); **1.F**:15′ (*šarā*); **1.H**:7′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 8[(*menaḫḫanda*); **3.C** ii 3; **Ap2.3** obv. 1, rev. 4′ (*anda*) imp.1.sg. *ú-wa-al-lu* **1.E**$_b$:10′?
awan intensifying adv.	*a-wa-an* **3.E**$_a$:3′; **3.H**:8′[?
eku- “to drink”	prt.3.pl. *e-ku-er* **1.E**$_a$ ii 4′ imp.2.sg. *e-ku* **FB.1** i 15′
eniššan adv. “thus”	*e-né-eš-ša-an* **1.D**$_c$ i 4′
ep- “to seize, grasp, hold”	prt.1.sg. *e-ep-pu-un* **1.C**$_b$ iv 19′ prt.3.sg. *e-ep-ta* **1.C**$_a$ ii 15′, iii 4′, 7′; **1.D**$_g$:3′; **3.C** iii 21′[, 27′; **FA.2** iii 4′; **FB.1** iv 19′ (*šarā*) prt.3.pl. *e-ep-pí-ir* **1.F**:9′[*e-ep-pir* **1.F**:5′] imp.2.sg. *e-ep* **3.C** iii 18′ prt.3.pl.mid. *ap-pa-an-ta-ti* **1.D**$_g$ ii 10′
eš- “to be”	prs.3.sg. *e-eš-zi* **2.B** rev. 8′; **3.B** iii 10′; **Ap2.1** iv 1′; **Ap2.3** obv. 4 prt.3.sg. *e-eš-ta* **FA.1**:4′; **FB.1** iv 5′; **FB.2**:10′]; **Ap2.1** i 8′[imp.1.sg. *e-eš-lu-ut* **1.C**$_b$ iv 31′ imp.2.sg. *e-eš* **1.B**$_b$:4′; **3.E**:6′; **FB.1** iv 11′ imp.3.sg. *e-eš-du* **FB.1** iv 6′, 7′, 15′, 16′; **FB.2**:11′ imp.3.pl. *a-ša-a-an-du* **2.A** obv. 6[
eš- “to sit, seat oneself”	prt.3.sg. *e-ša-at* **1.A**$_a$ i 11[? prs.1.sg.mid. *e-eš-ḫa-ḫa-ri* **3.A**$_a$ i 21
ed- “to eat”	prs.3.pl. *a-da-an-zi* **3.C** iii 13′ prt.3,pl. *e-te-er* **1.E**$_a$ ii 4′ imp.2.sg. *e-et* **FB.1** i 15′
ḫaliya- “to kneel”	prs.3.sg. *ḫa-li-ya-zi* **FB.1** i 4′
ḫali- c. “watch (period of time)”	dat./loc.sg. *ḫa-a-li* **FC.5** rev. 6′
^{É}*ḫalentuwa* n. “palace”	nom./acc.sg.^{É}*ḫa-le-en-tu-wa* **2.B** rev. 2′] nom./acc.pl. $^{É.MEŠ}$*ḫa-le-en-tu-wa* **1.C**$_b$ iv 34′[
ḫalki- c. “barley, grain”	acc.sg. *ḫal-ki-in* **Ap2.1** iv 16′
ḫallu- adj. “deep”	nom./acc.pl.n. *ḫal-lu-wa* **2.A**$_a$ i 3
ḫaluka- c. “message”	nom.sg. *ḫalu-ga-aš* **1.C**$_a$ ii 3′ acc.sg. *ḫa-lu-kán* **FC.1** ii 8, 9
ḫalluwai- “to fight”	prs.3.pl. *ḫal-lu-wa-an-zi* **1.C** iii 22′[
ḫalzai- “to call”	prt.3.sg. *ḫal-za-a-iš* **1.G**:8′ imp.2.pl. *ḫal-zi-eš-te-n*(*a*) **Ap2.3** rev. 8′
ḫamešḫant- c. “spring (season)”	dat./loc.sg. *ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da* **Ap2.3** obv. 3
ḫandaš postpose. “because of”	*ḫa-an-da-aš* **Ap2.2** iii 3′

ḫapa- c. "river"	dat./loc.sg. ÍD-*i* **1.A**$_c$ i 5′; **1.D**$_c$ i 18′
ḫappira- c. "city"	dat./loc.sg. URU-*ri* **1.A**$_a$ i 11; **1C**$_a$ i 2′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 16′, 17′; **FB.1** i 8′; **Ap2.3**: 3 URU^{LIM} **3.B** iii 5′
ḫaran^{MUŠEN} c. "eagle"	gen.sg. Á-*aš*^{MUŠEN} **FB.1** iv 2′
ḫar(k)- "to hold"	prs.3.sg. *ḫar-zi* **3.C** iv 23′; **3.H**:6′ prs.3.pl. *ḫar-kán-zi* **1.D**$_g$ iii 10′, 17′; **2.A**$_a$ i 3 prt. 3.sg. *ḫar-ta* **1.D**$_f$ ii 5′
ḫark- "to perish"	ppl.acc.sg.c. *ḫar-kán-ta-an* **FC.1** ii 6[
ḫarnink- "to destroy"	*ḫar-ni-ik-ta* **3.F**:7′, 8′, 9′
^{UZU}ḪAR*niu-* c. (body part—"beard"?)	nom.pl. ^{UZU}ḪAR-*ni-uš* **1.A**$_a$ i 9
ḫarpa- c. "pile, heap"	dat./loc.pl. *ḫar-pa-a-aš* **FB.1** i 22′
ḫaršana- c. "head"	SAG-*ŠU* **1.C**$_a$ iii 2′
˹*ḫaršanta-* c. (an object)	˹*ḫa-ar-ša-an-ta-an* **Ap2.1** iv 14′
ḫaš- "to open"	prs.2.sg. *ḫa-a-ši* **3.I**:6′ prt.3.pl. *ḫa-šir* **FC.5** rev. 3′
ḫaštali- c. "hero; warrior"	nom.sg. UR.SAG-*iš* **1.A**$_a$ i 3; **3.B** iii 2′; **1.D**$_c$ i 7′; **2.C** ii 9′ acc.sg. UR.SAG-*in* **1.A**$_a$ i 2; **1.D**$_c$ i 6′; **2.C** ii 7′ dat./loc.sg. UR.SAG-*li* **3.A**$_a$ i 11 UR.SAG **FA.2** iii 5′
ḫašteliyatar n. "heroism"	UR.SAG-*tar* **1.A**$_a$ i 6 abl./inst. *ḫa-aš-te*$^{!}$*-li-ya-an-za* **1.H**:17′
ḫaššu- c. "king"	nom.sg. LUGAL-*uš* **1.D**$_g$ ii 22′ dat.sg. LUGAL-*i* **3.C** iii 14′ LUGAL[(-) **FC.3**:2′
ḫattai- "to hit"	prs.3.sg.iter. *ḫa-az-zi-ik-kán-zi* **1.D**$_g$ iii 20′
ḫatuga- adj. "frightful"	nom.sg.c. *ḫa-tu-u-ga-aš* **1.B**$_a$: 2′] BÚN-*aš* **1C**$_a$ ii 5′
ḫenk- "to bow down"	pret.3.sg. *ḫe-en-ik-ta* **3.E**:5′
ḫuišwant- adj. "living"	nom.sg.c. TI-*za* **FB.1** i 23′, iv 7′, 11′, 16′ nom.pl.c. TI-*eš* **3.E**:7′ TI **3.E**:6′
ḫuišwatar n. "life"	nom./acc.sg. TI-*tar* **FB.1** i 23′, iv 3′$^{!}$, 5′, 13′, 14′; **FB.2**:8′ gen.sg. TI-*aš* **FB.1** iv 6′, 15′
ḫūitar n. "creatures (coll.)"	nom./acc.sg. *ḫu-u-i-tar* **FB.1** i 2′ MÁŠ.ANŠE.ḪI.A **1.A**$_b$ i 7′; **1.A**$_c$ i 1′; **1.D**$_c$ i 8′], 14′; **3.C** ii 11]
ḫūmant- adj. "all, every"	nom.sg.c. *ḫu-u-ma-an-za* **FC.1** ii 10

	nom./acc.sg.n. *ḫu-u-ma-an* **1.D**$_g$ ii 9′?; **Ap2.1** iv 9′ gen.sg. *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš* **FB.1** i 5′ nom.pl.c. *ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš* **1.D**$_a$ i 7′[; **1.D**$_c$ i 1′; **1.G**:8′] nom./acc.pl.n. *ḫu-u-ma-an-ta* **1.A**$_a$ i 10
GIŠ*ḫuppar* n. (a vessel)	nom./acc.sg. GIŠ*ḫu-up-pár* **FB.1** i 10′
ḫurtai- "to curse"	sup.iter. *ḫur-za-ki-u-wa-an* **3.E**:9′
ḫūdak adv. "immediately, suddenly"	*ḫu-u-da-ak* **1D**$_g$ ii 9′
⸢*ḫūtanu-* (unidentified object)	Luv.nom.pl.c. ⸢*ḫu-ú-ta-nu-en-zi* **Ap2.1** iv 14′[⸢*ḫu-ta-nu-en-zi* **Ap2.1** iv 13′
ḫuwai- "to run"	prt.3.sg. *ḫu-u-wa-iš* **3.I**:2′
iya- "to go"	prs.3.sg. *i-ya-at-ta-ri* **1.A**$_c$ i 3′, 8′ (*piran*); **1.D**$_c$ i 16′ prs.3.pl. *i-ya-an-ta-ri* **1.D**$_c$ i 10 prt.2.sg. *i-ya-at-ta-ti* **3.A**$_a$ i 16 (*kattan*) imp.2.sg. *i-it* **3.B** iii 4′, 6′ prt.3.sg.dur. *i-ya-an-né-eš* **1.D**$_c$ i 5′] prt.3.pl.dur. *i-ya-an-nir* **1.C** iii 21′[(*anda*); **1.D**$_c$ iv 15 (*anda*) imp.d.pl.dur. *i-ya-an-ni-ya-at-ten* **1.C**$_a$ iii 16′ (*anda*?) inf.dur. *i-ya-an-ni-ya-u-wa-an-zi* **1.C**$_b$ iv 18′[(*parā*)
iya- "to do"	prs.1.sg. *i-ya-mi* **Ap2.1** i 2′ prs.2.sg. *i-ya-ši* **3.C** iii 17′; **3.D** iv 5′ prs.3.pl. *i-ya-an-zi* **1.D**$_c$ i 9′ prt.3.sg. *i-ya-at* **1.E**$_b$:7′; **3.A**$_b$ ii 3[DÙ-*at* **3.C** ii 7 imp.2.sg. *i-ya* **Ap2.1** i 10′
immiya- "to mix"	prt.1.sg. *im-mi-ya-nu-un* **1.D**$_a$ i 11′[(*anda*) prt.3.sg. *im-mi-ya-at* **FA.1**:3′
irman n. "illness"	nom.acc.sg. *ir-ma-an* **FB.1** i 16′, 18′[dat./loc.sg. *ir-ma-ni* **FB.1** i 19′
išḫa- c. "lord"	nom.sg. EN-*aš* **1.B**$_b$:4′ EN **Ap2.2** iii 6′, 7′, 8′
išḫaḫru n. "tear(s)"	nom./acc.sg. *iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru* **1.C**$_b$ iv 14′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 7′]; **1.H**:17′[; **3.A**$_a$ i 18
išḫuwai- "to pour, dump"	prs.3.sg.iter. *iš-ḫu-u-wa-iš-ki-iz-zi* **1.D**$_c$ i 26′
išpai- "to be sated"	imp.2.sg. *iš-pa-a-i* **FB.1** i 15′[
išpant- c. "night"	dat./loc.sg. GE$_6$-*an-ti* **3.A**$_a$ i 3; **3.C** iii 4′[; **3.D** iv 2′
ištamaš- "to hear; listen"	prs.3.pl. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi* **FC.1** ii 9 prt.1.sg. *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un* **Ap2.1** i 6′[prt.3.sg. *iš-ta-ma-aš-ta* **1.A**$_b$ i 2′]; **1.B**$_a$:8′[; **1.C**$_a$ iii 9′, iv 21′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 13; **1.D**$_d$ iv 4[; **3.B** ii 4′ *iš-dam-ma-aš-ta* **1.C** iii 19′

	IŠ-ME **3.C** iii 21′; **Ap2.1** i 4′[
	iš-t[*a-* **Ap2.3** rev. 5′?
ištanza(*na*)- c. “mind; life”	dat./loc.sg. ZI-*ni* **3.F**:4′
	ZI **3.I**:4′
ištappinu- “to shut, close”	prt.3.pl. *iš-tap-pí-nu-ir* **2.A**$_b$ ii 6 (*parā*)
ištarna adv. “within”	*iš-tar-na* **1.D**$_c$ iv 16; **1.D**$_g$ iii 17′; **1.G**:2′[!; **3.A**$_a$ i 8
išduwai- “to become manifest”	*iš-du-wa-a-ri* **FC.4**:7′
iwar postposition “like, as”	*i-wa-ar* **1.H**:5′; **3.A**$_a$ i 15; **3.B** iii 7′; **FB.1** i 24′, iv 12′
ka- prn. “that (one)”	nom.sg.c. *ka-a-aš* **1.C**$_b$ iv 16′
	dat./loc.sg. *ke-e-da-ni* **3.A**$_a$ i 3; **FC.6** rev. 3′[; **Ap2.1** iv 11′
(ḫ)*galpariwala*- n. “cloak(?)”	nom./acc.pl. *gal-pa-ri-wa-la* **1.C**$_a$ 18′
	ḫ*kal-pa-ri-wa-la* **1.D**$_c$ iv 12
kaluti- c. “circle, group (of deities)”	acc.sg. *ka-lu-ti-in*$_4$ **FB.1** i 21′
	gen.sg. *ga-lu-da-aš* **FB.1** i 20′
-*kan* sentence particle	-*kán* **1.A**$_a$ i 11; **1.A**$_b$ i 2′, 3′; **1.A**$_c$ i 5′, 9′, 11′, 14′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 12′. 13′, 20′; **1C**$_b$ iv 12′, 18′, 24′; **1.D**$_a$ i 4′; **1.D**$_c$ i 18′, 21′, 23′, iv 8, 11, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, 28, 30; **1.D**$_g$ ii 15′, iii 12′; **1.E**$_a$ ii 6′, iii 3′, 4′; **1.F**:8′, 11′, 14′, 16′, 17′; **1.H**:16′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 4, 8, 13; **2.B** rev. 3′; **3.A**$_a$ i 3, 6, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21; **3.B** i 3′, 6′, iii 3′, 8′, 9′; **3.C** ii 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, iii 15′, 18′, 22′, 24′, 25′; **3.D** iv 2′; **3.E**:8′; **3.F**:1′, 3′; **3.G**:2′; **FB.1** i 8′, 10′, 11′, 16′, 18′; **FC.1** ii 3; **FC.5** rev. 5′; **FC.6**:1′; **FC.7**:2′; **Ap2.1** iv 7′, 14′; **Ap2.3** rev. 3′
karap- “to devour”	prs.3.sg. *ga-ra-pí* **Ap2.1** iv 12′
karp- “to lift; conclude”	ppl.nom/acc.sg.n. *kar-ap-pa-an* **1.D**$_g$ iii 10′
karš- “to cut”	prs.1.sg. *kar-aš-mi* **1.C**$_b$ iv 34′
	prs.1.pl. *kar-šu-u-e-ni* **2.A**$_b$ ii 4
	prt.3.sg. *kar-aš-ta* **1.C**$_a$ iii 8′, 12′; **1.D**$_d$ iv 3; **3.C** iii 23′
	prt.3.pl. *kar-še-er* **2.A** obv. 7
kartimmiya- “to become angry”	prt.3.sg. *kar-tim-mi-e-eš-ta* **3.A**$_a$ i 15
	prt.3.sg.mid. *kar-tim-mi-ya-at-ta-at* **1.D**$_a$ i 6′[
kartimmiyat- c. “anger”	nom.sg. *kar-tim-mi-ya-za* **1.C**$_a$ 10′
	acc.sg. *kar-tim-mi-ya-at-ta-an* **3.D** iv 5′
karū adv. “previously”	*ka-ru-ú* **FC.5** rev. 9′
kāša adv. of immediacy	*ka-a-ša* **FC.1** ii 1
katta(*n*) adv. “down; with”	*kat-ta* **1.D**$_g$ iii 7′; **3.A**$_a$ i 17; **3.**C iii 12′; **3.I**:1′; **Fc.8**:6′
	kat-ta-an **1.C** iii 13′; **1.D**$_a$ i 5′]?; **3.A**$_a$ i 16; **FB.1** i 7′; **Ap2.2** iii 6′
	GAM-*an* **1.D**$_c$ i 12′, iv 22; **1.H**:12′; **3.H**:2′!?; **FA.1**:5′
^{GIŠ}*kattaluzzi*- n. “threshold”	nom./acc.sg. ^{GIŠ}*kat-ta-lu-uz-zi* **2.B** rev. 4′], 10′; **3.A**$_a$ i 21
kattanda adv. “downward”	GAM-*an-da* **1.C**$_b$:4′

gimra- c. "field, countryside"	acc.sg. *gi-im-ra-an* **1.A**$_c$ i 9′ gen.sg. *gi-im-ra-aš* **FB.1** i 2′], 4′[, 5′ dat./loc.sg. *gi-im-ri* **1.E**$_a$ ii 8′ LÍL-*ri* **1.A**$_b$ i 4′, 5′
kinun(*a*) adv. "now"	*ki-nu-un* **Ap2.2** iii 3′ *ki-nu-na* **3.A**$_a$ i 13; **3.F**:9′; **FB.1** iv 16′
ginuššariya- "to kneel"	imp.2.sg. *gi-nu-uš-ša-ri-ya-ad-du* **1.A**$_d$ i 5′[(*parā*)
gipeššar n. (measure of length)	gen.sg. *gi-pé-eš-na-aš* **3.C** iii 19′, 22′
ker n. "heart"	dat./loc.sg. ŠÀ-*BI-i*° **1.D**$_a$ i 6′
^{NA_4}*kirinna-* c. "porphyry(?)"	abl. ^{NA_4}*ki-ri-in-na-z*(*i*) **2.B** rev. 5′], 11′[
kiš- "to become"	prs.3.sg. *ki-ša-ri* **1.C**$_b$ iv 27′, 28′ prt.3.sg. *ki-ša-at* **1.B**$_a$:9′; **1.C** iii 10′, 20′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 14; **FC.4**:6′ imp.3.sg. *ki-ša-ru* **2.B** rev. 16′]
kiššan adv. "thus"	*ki-iš-ša-an* **FC.3**:5′[?; **FC.4**:2′; **Ap2.1** iv 12′[*kiš-an* **Ap2.1** i 11′
keššar c. "hand"	acc.sg. ŠU-*an* **FB.1** iv 10′ abl. ŠU-*az* **1.C**$_a$ iii 4′ ŠU-z*a* **3.C** iii 18′, 21′, 27′, 28′; **3.E**:13′? ŠU **1.D**$_c$ LeE
kui- rel.prn.	nom.sg.c. *ku-iš* **1.C**$_a$ 10′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 6]; **1.F:**11; **1.H**:18′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 4; **3.A**$_a$ i 7; **3.D** iv 2′; **3.F**:6′ acc.sg.c. *ku-in* **1.C**$_b$ iv 35′; **1.D**$_a$ i 9′[; **3.A**$_a$ i 3; **3.G**:4′; **FA.2** iii 3′ nom.acc.sg.n. *ku-it* **1.C**$_b$ iv 17′; **1.D**$_g$ ii 15′, iii 8′; **1.E**$_a$ ii 6′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 3; **3.A**$_a$ i 6, 15; **3.C** iii 15′; **Ap2.1** i 8′; **Ap2.2** iii 8′ dat./loc.sg. *ku-e-da-ni* **Ap2.1** i 7′ *ku-e-ta-ni* **Ap2.1** iv 5′[abl. *ku-e-ez* **1.D**$_c$ i 9′ nom.pl.c. *ku-i-e-eš* **1.B**$_b$:5′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 32′; **1.D**$_c$ i 24′; **1.H**:13′]; **3.B** iii 3′; **3.E**:7′]; **Ap2.1** iv 6′ pl.nom.c. *ku-i-e-eš* **3.C** ii 9, 10 pl.acc.c. *ku-i-uš* **1.D**$_c$ iv 27[nom./acc.pl.n. *ku-e* **1.A**$_c$ i 10′; **1.D**$_c$ i 22′; **Ap2.1** i 6′! dat./loc.pl. *ku-e-ta-aš* **3.A**$_b$ i 8
kuen- "to kill"	prs.3.pl. *ku-na-an-zi* **3.C** ii 5] prt.3.sg. *ku-in-né-eš-ta* **3.B** iii 4′ prt.3.pl. *ku-en-nir* **3.A**$_a$ i 6, 7, 12 prs.3.sg.iter. *ku-en-né-eš-ki-iz-zi* **3.C** ii 11
kuiški indef.prn.	nom./acc.sg.n. *ku-it-ki* **1.A**$_d$ i 8′?; **3.A**$_b$ ii 2; **3.C** iii 1′; **3.E**:2′
kuitman adv., conj. "while"	*ku-it-ma-an* **1.B**$_a$:5′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 11; **1.G**:5′[; **3.C** ii 1; **FC.1** ii 2; **FC.9**:5′[
kuwapi adv., conj. "when; where"	*ku-wa-pí* **3.C** iii 17′

kuwat interrogative "why"	*ku-wa-at* **1.H**:10′, 11′; **3.D** iv 4′
laḫḫa- c. "road; journey"	abl. *la-aḫ-ḫa-az* **3.H**:7′]
laḫḫiyai- "to travel"	prs.3.sg.iter. *la-aḫ-ḫi-ya-iš-ki-it* **3.C** ii 9]
laknu- "to knock over; fell"	prt.3.sg. *la-ku-nu-ut* **FC.4**:4′
lalaueša- c. "ant"	nom.sg. *la-la-ú-e-ša-aš* **Ap2.1** iv 12′
laman n. "name"	nom./acc.sg. *ŠUM-an* **FB.1** i 25′; **Ap2.3** obv. 5
lappina- c. (a plant)	inst. *la-ap-pí-ni-it* **1.D**$_g$ iii 14′
lē negation	*le-e* **1.C**$_a$ iii 15′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 37′, 38′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 10; **3.A**$_a$ i 10
lukkatta adv. "at dawn"	*lu-uk-kat-ta* **3.B** iii 7′
lukkeš- "to become bright; dawn"	prt.3.sg. *lu-uk-ke-eš-ta* **3.A**$_a$ i 1
-ma(-) conj. "but"	**1.A**$_a$ i 4, 6, 8, 9; **1.A**$_c$ i 6′, 11′, 12′, 13′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 5′; **1C**$_b$ iv 18′, 27′, 31′; **1.D**$_a$ i 5′; **1.D**$_c$ i 23′, 24′, 25′, iv 1, 19, 22, 30; **1.D**$_g$ ii 19′, iii 6′, 9′, 18′; **1.E**$_a$ iii 4′; **1.F**:12′; **1.H**:6′, 16′; **2.A**$_a$ ii 4; **2.B** rev. 3′, 4′; **3.A**$_a$ i 9, 10, 13, 14; **3.B** ii 3′, 6′, 7′, iii 3′, 7′; **3.C** ii 2, 6, 12; **3.E**:4′; **3.G**:2′?; **FA.1**:2′?, 6′, 25′, iv 7′; **FC.3**:4′; **FC.6** rev. 6′; **Ap2.1** i 3′, 7′, iv 6′, 7′, 14′; **Ap2.2** iii 3′
maḫḫan conj. "when; how"; postposition "like, as"	GIM-*an* **1.C**$_a$ iii 5′; **1C**$_b$ iv 14′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 1; **1.D**$_g$ iii 2′; **1.E** ii 4′; **1.F**:14′; **1.H**:6′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 14; **2.C** ii 5′; **3.B** ii 3′, 7′; **3.C** ii 2, 12, iii 17′, 20′; **3.E**:4′]; **FB.1** i 18′, 21′; **FC.1** ii 7; **Ap2.1** i 4′, 9′
mān conj. "if; when"	*ma-a-an* **1.H**:15′; **3.A**$_a$ i 18; **3.B** ii 5′; **Ap2.1** iv 13′
man irrealis	*-ma-an*(-) **2.A**$_b$ ii 4; **2.C** ii 5′
maninkuwan adv. "near"	*ma-ni-in-ku-u-wa-an* **1.B**$_a$:6′] *ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an* **1.C**$_a$ ii 8′ *ma-né-en-ku-wa-an* **3.F**:2′
-mi- enclitic poss.prn.	1.sg.voc. *-mi* **3.A**$_a$ i 3; **Ap2.2** iii 8′ 1.sg.nom./acc.n. *-mi-it* **Ap2.3** rev. 5′ 1.sg. *-YA* **FC.6**:7′ 3.sg. at./loc. *-ši* **1.D**$_a$ i 6′; **Ap2.2** iii 6′, 7′ 2.pl.acc.sg.c. *–šum-mi-in* **Ap2.3** obv. 8 3.pl.nom./acc.n. *-še-mi-it* **Ap2.3** rev. 10′
miyatar n. "growth; abundance"	nom.acc.sg. *mi-ya-tar* **1.D**$_c$ i 5′
mekki- adj. "much"	nom./acc.sg. *me-ek-ki* **1.H**:14′
mema- "to speak, say"	prs.3.sg. *me-ma-i* **1.D**$_d$ i 2′[prs.3.pl. *me-mi-iš-kán-zi* **1.D**$_g$ iii 11′ prt.1.sg. *me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un* **Ap2.2** iii 10′[! prt.3.sg. *me-mi-iš-ta* **3.A**$_a$ i 5 (*menaḫḫanda*); **Ap2.1** i 6′ imp.2.sg. *me-mi* **FB.1** i 23′; **Ap2.1** i 11′ prs.3.sg.iter. *me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi* **1.A**$_c$ i 7′; **1.B**$_a$:1′[, 3′]; **1.B**$_b$:3′[; **1.C**$_a$ iii 14′; **1C**$_b$ iv 29′[; **1.D**$_c$ iv 9, 17; **2.A**$_b$ ii 1[(*appa*); **2.B** rev. 6′[, 15′]; **FC.3**:3′]; **FC.9**: 2′[

	sup.iter. *me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an* **1.D**$_g$ ii 23′]; **1.E** ii 5′ (*appa*), 9′]; **1.G**:9′ (*appa*); **3.C** iii 14′ (*appa*); **Ap2.1** i 5′; **Ap2.2** iii 7′ (*appa*) *me-mi-iš-ki-wa-an* **1.D**$_c$ i 28′] *me-mi-*[**3.A**$_a$ i 11 (*appa*); **3.C** iii 8′ (*appa*) *me-mi-iš-ki*[- **1.G**:2′; **3.A**$_a$ i 2 (*appa*) *me-mi-iš*[- **3.E**:2′; **3.H**:4′ (*appa*) *IQ-BI* **3.A**$_a$ i 8, 9; **3.G**:3′ (*appa*)
memiya- c. "word; matter"	acc.sg. *me-mi-ya-an* **1.B**$_a$:8′; **3.C** iii 21′ *me-mi-an* **Ap2.2** iii 10′ abl. *me-mi-ya-na-az* **3.A**$_a$ i 12
menaḫḫanda adv. "against, opposite, toward"	*me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* **1.H**:13′[IGI-*an-da* **1.F**:3′[; **1.H**:11′[; **2.A**$_b$ ii 9; **3.A**$_a$ i 5; **FC.1** ii 10; **Ap2.2** iii 4′
naḫ- "to fear"	prs.2.pl. *na-aḫ-te-e-ni* **1.C**$_a$ iii 15′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 10[prt.3.sg. *na-aḫ-ta* **1.H**: 8′[prs.3.sg.iter. *na-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi* **3.A**$_b$ ii 4]
nakki- adj. "weighty; important"	nom.sg.c. *na-ak-ki-iš* **3.A**$_a$ i 19 acc.sg.c. *na-ak-ki-in* **3.A**$_a$ i 22 nom./acc.sg.n. *na-ak-ki-i* **FB.1** i 25′
namma adv. "further(more); again"	*nam-ma* **1.D**$_c$ iv 25; **1.D**$_g$ ii 9′; **2.C** ii 8′; **3.A**$_a$ i 20, 22
našma conj. "either; or"	*na-aš-ma* **3.C** iii 19′
natta negation	*Ú-UL* **1.C**$_b$ iv 26′, 27′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 23; **1.D**$_g$ iii 12′; **1.F**:6′, 9′; **1.H**:12′; **2.B** rev. 8′; **3.A**$_a$ i 12, 22; **3.F**:2′; **3.G**:2′; **3.H**:3′; **FB.1** i 2′; **FC.1** ii 1, 5; **FC.**6: 3′, 4′; **Ap2.2** iii 11′
nāwi adv. "not yet"	*na-a-ú-i* **1.G**:6′; **FC.9**: 6′ *na-a-wi*$_5$ **1.B**$_a$:6′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 17′
negna- c. "brother"	nom.sg. ŠEŠ-*aš* **3.A**$_a$ i 19 dat./loc.sg. ŠEŠ-*ni* **3.A**$_a$ i 3 ŠEŠ-*YA* **3.A**$_a$ i 19, 22
nepiš n. "heaven(s)"	nom./acc.sg. *ne-pí-iš* **1.D**$_c$ iv 28; **1.F**:9′ gen.sg. *ne-pí-ša-aš* **FC.4**:5′ dat./loc.sg. *ne-pí-ši* **1.D**$_c$ iv 18, 21[abl. *ne-pí-ša-az* **1.C** iii 1′?, 13′ *ŠA-ME-E* **1.A**$_a$ i 5; **1.C**$_a$ iii 14′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 11′, 13′, 16′, 18′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 29 AN^E **3.A**$_a$ i 4, 11, 14; **3.H**:1′
ḫniwalli- adj. "innocent"	nom.sg.c. *ḫni-wa-al-li-iš* **3.A**$_a$ i 13[
nu conj. "and"	*nu* **1.A**$_a$ i 13; **1.A**$_c$ i 8′; **1.B**$_a$:2′, 9′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 22′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 15′, 19′, 21′, 29′, 35′; **1.D**$_a$ i 7′, 8′, 10′; **1.D**$_c$ i 9′, 19′, iv 8, 15, 24, 26, 28; **1.D**$_d$ iv 2; **1.D**$_f$ ii 4′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 5′; **1.E**$_a$ ii 2′, 8′; **1.F**:10′; **1.**G: 5′; **1.H**:6′, 9′, 14′; **2.A**$_a$ i 3; **2.B** rev. 14′; **2.C** ii 9′; **3.A**$_a$ i 1, 11; **3.B** iii 7′; **3.C** ii 7, 8, iii 7′, 13′, 20′, 21′, 26; **3.H**:2′; **3.I**:2′; **FA.2** iii 6′; **FB.1** i 5′, 7′, 12′, 17′, 20′, 21′, iv 10′; **FC.1** ii 1, 2, 7, 8; **FC.5** rev. 5′, 8′; **Ap2.1** i 5′, iv 9′, 12′, 13′; **Ap2.2** iii 7′

nu-mu(-) **1.C**$_b$ iv 30′; **FC.1** ii 3, 6
na-aš-ta **Ap2.3** rev. 6′
nu-kán **1.A**$_b$ i 2′; **1.A**$_c$ i 3′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 12′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 24′; **1.D**$_c$ i 16′; **3.B** iii 5′; **3.C** ii 13; **FB.1** i 8′, 11′, 18′
nu-wa(-) **1.A**$_c$ i 9′, 14′; **1.B**$_a$:5′; **1.B**$_b$:4′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 18′; **1.D**$_c$ i 21′, 22′, 29′, iv 12, 18; **1.D**$_d$ i 3′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 17′; **1.H**:15′, 16′; **1.I**:5′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 3; **2.B** rev. 8′, 13′$^!$; **2.C** ii 10′; **3.A**$_a$ i 4, 5, 8, 20, 22; **3.B** iii 5′, 6′; **3.C** ii 3, iii 15′, 16′, 17′, 18′, 22′; **Ap2.1** i 3′, 6′, iv 15′, 16′; **FC.7**:3′; **FC.9**:5′
nu-za(-) **1.C**$_b$ iv 28′, 34′; **1.D**$_a$ i 2′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 28; **1.E**$_b$:7′; **1.H**:14′; **3.F**:1′, 3′, 4′; **FB.1** i 9′, 10′, 15′; **FC.5** rev. 5′; **Ap2.2** iii 9′
na-aš(-) **1.A**$_a$ i 11; **1.A**$_b$ i 3′; **1.A**$_c$ i 5′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 12′; **1.D**$_a$ i 4′, 6′; **1.D**$_c$ i 18′, iv 21, 22, 30; **1.D**$_g$ ii 24′$^?$; **1.H**:7′; **3.C** ii 4, iv 13′; **3.E**:5′; **FB.**1:3′; Ap2.**2** iii 6′
na-an(-) **1.C**$_b$ iv 19′, 37′; **1.D**$_a$ i 11′; **1.H**:8′; **1.K**:3; **3.A**$_b$ ii 2, 3; **FB.1** i 4′; **Ap2.3** rev. 3′
nu-uš(-) **1.A**$_b$ i 6′]
nu-uš-ši(-) **1.A**$_b$ i 8′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 20′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 14′, 26′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 14; **3.A**$_a$ i 18; **3.B** iii 10′; **FB.1** i 23′, iv 3′; **FB.2**:8′
nu-ut-ta(-) **1.C**$_b$ iv 31′, 32′
na-at(-) **2.A**$_b$ ii 7, 8; **2.C** ii 4′; **3.C** iii 23′, 24′, 25′; **3.E**:7′; **FB.1** i 14′
nu-uš-ma-aš(-) **1.D**$_c$ iv 16, 19; **1.E**$_a$ iii 3′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 9, 10, 12, 13; **2.C** ii 6′; **FC.**6: 1′; Ap2.**2** iii 10′
nu-x[**3.F**:11′; **FA.1**:4′

paḫḫur n. "fire" — nom./acc.sg. *pa-aḫ-ḫur* **FB.1** i 11′

pāi- "to go" — prs.1.sg. *pa-a-mi* **FC.1** ii 2
prs.2.sg. *pa-a-i-ši* **3.C** iii 16′
pa-a-ši **1.G**:7′
prs.3.sg. *pa-iz-zi* **1.B**$_a$:6′[; **1.C**$_a$ iii 17′[(*anda*); **1.G**:6′[; **FB.1** i 3′; **FC.9**:6′
prs.1.pl. *pa-a-i-u-e-ni* **1.D**$_d$ i 3′
prt.1.sg. *pa-a-u-un* **Ap2.2** iii 9′
prt.3.sg. *pa-it* **1.A**$_c$ i 6′; **1.D**$_a$ i 8′; **1.D**$_a$ i 19′; **3.C** ii 8 (*arḫa*); **Ap2.2** iii 6′ (*kattan*)
prt.3.pl. *pa-a-ir* **1.E**$_a$ iii 3′
imp.3.pl. *pa-an-du* **3.C** iv 14′
inf. *pa-a-u-wa-an-zi* **1.D**$_g$ iii 15′

pāi- "to give" — prs.2.sg. *pa-a-iš* **1.A**$_a$ i 6
prs.3.pl. *pí-an-zi* **1.B**$_a$:5′]; **1.C**$_a$ ii 7′
prt.3.pl. *pí-e-er* **1.D**$_g$ iii 3′
imp.3.sg. *pé-eš-ki-id-du* **FB.1** iv 3′[

palḫašti- c. "breadth" — dat./loc.sg. *pal-ḫa-a-aš-ti* **1.A**$_a$ i 8

palša- "road; journey" — acc.sg. KASKAL-*an* **1.C**$_b$ iv 11′; **3.C** iii 28′; **3.G**:4′; **F1.A**:8′

parā adv. "forth" — *pa-ra-a* **1.A**$_d$ i 5′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 26′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 6; **3.A**$_a$ i 18; **3.B** ii 5′; **3.C** ii 6; **FA.2** iii 6′]$^?$; **FB.1** iv 11′; **FB.2**:6′]$^?$

parranda adv. "across" — *pár-ra-an-ta* **1.D**$_a$ i 7′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 15′

parḫuena- c. (type of grain) — gen.sg. *pár-ḫu-e-na-aš* **Ap2.3** obv. 4$^?$

pargašti- c. "height"	dat./loc.sg. *pár-ga-aš-ti* **1.A**$_a$ i 7[
parkiyanu- "to raise"	prs.3.pl. *pár-ki-ya-nu-wa-an-zi* **3.A**$_a$ i 20
parkunu- "to clean"	*pár-ku-nu-uš-ki-ir* **2.A**$_b$ ii 12[
partipartiya- "to wander(?)"	prs.3.sg.iter. *pár-ti-pár-ti-iš-ki-iz-zi* **3.B** iii 8′
pašk- "to stick in; fasten"	prt.1.sg. *pa-aš-ga-aḫ-ḫu-un* **3.C** iii 11′[? (*piran*) ppl.nom.pl.c. *pa-aš-ke-eš-kán-tu-uš* **1.F**:12′[?
-pat emphatic particle	*-pát* **3.C** iii 25′; **FB.1** i 22′
pata- c. "foot"	acc.sg. GÌR-*an* **1.C**$_b$ iv 3′; **1.F**:7′
peḫute- "to lead, bring"	imp.2.sg. *pé-e-ḫu-te* **1.A**$_c$ i 3′[; **1.D**$_d$ i 20]; **3.B** iii 5′[, 6′[prs.3.pl.iter. *pé-e-ḫu-te-eš-kán-zi* **1.B**$_a$:4′]; **1.C**$_a$ ii 6′]
penna- "to drive (out)"	imp.2.sg. *pé-en-ni* **Ap2.1** iv 15′, 16′
ḫpinta- Luw. n. "rudder(?)"	nom./acc.sg. *ḫpí-in-ta-an-za* **3.C** iii 27′
piran adv. "before"	*pí-ra-an* **1.A**$_c$ i 8′; **1.B**$_a$:10′; **3.A**$_a$ i 17; **3.C** iii 11′; **3.F**:4′; **FB.1`** i 9′; **Ap2.2** iii 9′; **Ap2.3** rev. 10′
per n. "house"	dat./loc.sg. *pár-ni* **Ap2.3** obv. 4, 6 É-*ri* **1.C** iii 17′ abl. É-*ir-za* **3.C** ii 6
^{NA_4}*peruna-* c. "rock"	nom.sg. ^{NA_4}*pé-e-ru-na-aš* **1.F**:7′ ^{NA_4}]*pé-ru-na-aš* **1.C**$_b$ iv 3′]
peššiya- "to throw"	prt.3.sg. *pé-eš-ši-ya-at* **3.C** ii 2 prt.3.pl. *pé-eš-ši-e-er* **2.A** obv. 11[(*arḫa*)
peda- n. "place; location"	dat./loc.sg. *pé-di* **1D**$_a$ i 8′[*AŠ-RI*$^{ḪI.A}$ **1.D**$_g$ iii 8′
peda- "to take away"	prs.1.sg. *pé-e-da-aḫ-ḫi* **1.F**:3′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 18[prs.1.pl. *pé-e-du-um-me-ni* **2.A**$_b$ ii 3
piddai- "to run"	prt.3.sg. *píd-da-a-it* **3.C** ii 4 (*arḫa*)
ḫpittanummi- Luw. (meaning unknown)	ppl.com.nom.pl. *ḫpít-ta-nu-um-mi-en-za* **3.C** ii 13[
ḫpulpuli- c. "beam(?)"	acc.pl. *ḫpu-ul-pu-ul-li-i-uš* **1.C**$_b$ iv 33′[
šaḫ- "to stop up"	prs.3.sg.iter. *ša-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi* **1.A**$_c$ i 4′; **1.D**$_c$ i 17′
šai- "to become angry"	prt.3.sg. *ša-it* **FC.5** rev. 8′
šak- "to know"	prs.1.sg. *ša-aq-qa-aḫ-ḫi* **FC.5** rev. 4′ prt.2.sg. *ša-ak-ti* **2.B** rev. 7′
šakruwai- "to drink (of animals)"	inf. *ša-ak-ru-wa-u-wa-an-zi* **1.D**$_c$ i 11′
šakuwa- n. "eye"	nom./acc.pl. IGI.ḪI.A-*wa* **1.C**$_b$ iv 25′; **3.B** ii 6′ abl. IGI.ḪI.A-*wa-za* **3.A**$_a$ i 22

šakuwai- "to see, look upon"	prs.3.sg.iter. *ša-ak-uš-ki-iz-zi* **1.D**$_g$ iii 7′[(*katta*) prs.3.pl.iter. *ša-ak-uš-kán-zi* **1.D**$_g$ iii 6′ prs.3.sg.iter.mid. *ša-ku-uš-kat-ta-ri* **1.D**$_g$ iii 18′]
šallai- "to become large, tall"	prt.3.sg. *šal-li-iš-ta* **1.E**$_a$ ii 6′
šallanu- "to raise, grow"	prs.3.pl.iter. *šal-la-nu-uš-kán-zi* **1.A**$_b$ i 6′]; **1.D**$_c$ i 8′[prt.1.sg.iter. *šal-la-nu-uš-ki-nu-un* **1.C**$_b$ iv 32′ prs.3.pl.mid. *šal-la-nu-wa-an-ta-ti* **1.C**$_a$ iii 11′
šalli- adj. "large"	nom.sg.c. *šal-li-iš* **3.E**:6′ dat./loc.sg. *šal-li* **FC.1** ii 3 nom.pl.c. *šal-la-uš* **1.A**$_a$ i 7 acc.pl.c. GAL.MEŠ-*iš* **1.C**$_b$ iv 22′
šamnai- "to create"	prt.1.sg. *ša-am-ni-ya-nu-un* **1.D**$_a$ i 10′ prt.3.sg. *ša-am-ni-ya-at* **1.D**$_c$ i 6′] (*anda*) prt.2.pl. *ša-am-ni-ya-at-te-en* **1.D**$_a$ i 9′[prt.3.pl. *ša-am-ni-ir* **1.A**$_a$ i 4, 6[ppl.acc.sg.c. *ša-am-ni-ya-an-ta-an* **1.A**$_a$ i 3
-*šan* sentence particle	-*ša-an* **3.I**:5′; **1.D**$_g$ ii 9′[
ḫšapatta- "to peel, strip (trans)"	prt.3.sg. *ḫša-pa-at-ta* **3.C** iii 23′
šarā adv. "upward"	*ša-ra-a* **1.D**$_c$ i 25′, iv 17, 18[!], 21, 29; **1.F**:3′], 5′, 15′; **3.C** iii 10′, 24′, 25′; **FB.1** iv 8′, 10′[, 17′[, 19′
šēr adv. "over"	*še-er* **Ap2.3** obv. 3
šeš- "to sleep"	prt.1.sg. *še-šu-un* **Ap2.3** obv. 6[?] prt.3.sg. *še-eš-ta* **1.A**$_d$ i 7′]; **3.A**$_a$ i 13 (*katta*) imp.3.sg. *še-eš-du* **1.A**$_d$ i 4′ inf. *še-e-šu-wa-an-zi* **1.E**$_a$ iii 4′[[?]
šiu- c. "deity"	sg. DINGIR^{LIM} **1.D**$_g$ iii 8′, 9′; **FC.5** rev. 7′ nom.pl. DINGIR.MEŠ-*iš* **Ap2.2** iii 3′[?] DINGIR.MEŠ-*uš* **1.A**$_a$ i 7 DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* **Ap2.2** iii 8′ DINGIR.MEŠ **1.D**$_a$ i 7′ gen.pl. DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* **Ap2.2** iii 5′ dat./loc.pl. DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* **Ap2.2** iii 9′
šiwat- c. "day"	nom.sg. UD.KAM-*za* **1.C**$_b$ iv 16′ UD-*za* **3.I**:5′ dat./loc.sg. UD-*ti* **3.C** iii 4′; **3.D** iv 2′; **FC.5** rev. 5′ UD.N.KAM **1.D**$_g$ iii 4′]; **1.E**$_a$ iii 7′]; **3.C** iii 28′
šiwatili adv. "daily"	UD.KAM-*ti-li* **1.A**$_a$ i 12; **1.D**$_a$ i 2′; **3.A**$_a$ i 16
šummittant- c. "axe"	acc.sg. *šum-mi-it-ta-an-ta-an* **1.C**$_a$ iii 4′ *ḪA-AŠ-ŠÍ-IN-NU* **1.C**$_a$ 6′[!]; **1.D**$_d$ iv 2[; **3.C** iii 18′, 21′
šuppariya- "to sleep"	prt.1.pl.mid. *šu-up-pa-ri-ya-u-wa-aš-ta-ti* **3.A**$_a$ obv. 1

da- "to take"	prs.3.sg. *da-a-i* **FA.2** iii 6′ (*parā*?) prt.3.sg. *da-a-aš* **1.A**$_b$ i 3′ (*arḫa*) imp.2.sg. *da-a* **Ap2.1** iv 13′, 16′?
taḫara- c. "noise(?)"	acc.sg. *ta-ḫa-ra-an* **1.C**$_a$ iii 9′
dai- "to set, place"	prs.1.sg. *te-eḫ-ḫi* **2.B** rev. 5′ prs.3.sg. *da-a-i* **3.A**$_b$ ii 2? prt.3.sg. *da-a-iš* **1.A**$_a$ i 13; **1.D**$_a$ i 3′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 25′; **1.E** ii 9′; **3.B** i 5; **3.C** iii 24′ (*šarā*); **3.F**:5′; **Ap2.3** rev. 8′ *da-iš* **1.H**:10′; **3.C** iii 14′
daliya- "to leave, abandon"	prs.3.pl. *da-li-ya-an-zi* **FB.1** i 22′[prt.3.sg. *da-a-li-ya-at* **1.B**$_b$:2′ (*arḫa*); **1.C**$_b$ iv 28′[imp.2.sg. *da-a-li* **1.C**$_b$ iv 22′ (*arḫa*)
dalugašti- "length"	dat./loc.sg. *da-lu-ga-aš-ti* **1.A**$_a$ i 9
damai- adj. "other"	dat./loc.sg. *da-me-e-ta-ni* **Ap2.1** iv 3′[, 4′[
dankui- adj. "dark"	dat./loc.sg. *da-an-ku-wa-i* **1.D**$_c$ iv 20 *da-an-ku-i* **1.F**:5′, 8′ GE$_6$-*i* **1.C**$_b$:4′
dandukeššar c. "mortality"	gen.sg. *da-an-du-kiš-na-aš* **Ap2.1** i 9′!
taparriya- c. "command"	acc.sg. *ta-pár-ri-ya-aš*(*-šum-mi-in*) **Ap2.3** obv. 8 *ta-pár-ri-y*[*a-* **Ap2.3** obv. 9
tapuša adv. "beside"	*ta-pu-ša* **3.E**:10′
tarḫ- "to master"	sup. *tar-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-u-wa-an* **1.A**$_a$ i 13]; **1.D**$_a$ i 3′
tarkummai- "to announce, proclaim"	prs.3.sg. *tar-ku-um-ma-i* **3.B** ii 1′
tarlā-^{MUŠEN} c. (a bird)	acc.sg. *tar-la-a-an*^{MUŠEN} **FB.1** i 6′
tarnai- "to release"	imp.2.sg. *tar-na-i* **FC.1** ii 8[prs.3.sg.iter. *tar-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi* **1.A**$_c$ i 2′ *tar-né-eš-ki-iz-zi* **1.D**$_c$ i 15′
(𒀀)*tarša-* n. "skull(?)"	nom./acc.pl. 𒀀*tar-ša* **1.D**$_c$ iv 19, 22 *tar-ša* **1.F**:6′
taru n. "wood; tree"	nom./acc.sg. GIŠ-*ru* **FC.4**:3′, 4′]?; **FC.7**:4′[? *IṢ-ṢI* **3.C** iii 12′; **Ap2.1** i 10′ pl. GIŠ.MEŠ **1.E** ii 6′]?
tārmaki-^{MUŠEN} c. (a bird)	acc.sg. *ta-a-ru-ma-ki-in*^{MUŠEN} **FB.1** i 6′[?
tarup- "to gather"	prt.3.sg.mid. *ta-ru-up-ta-at* **1.E**$_b$:6′]
taškupai- "to cry out, shout"	prs.3.sg.iter. *tàš-ku-pí-iš-ki-iz-zi* **3.C** ii 5
daššu- adj. "heavy; mighty"	acc.pl.c. *da-aš-ša-mu-uš* **1.C**$_b$ iv 33′!

tiya- "to step"	prt.3.pl. *ti-e-er* **Ap2.2** iii 4′ (*menaḫḫanda*) imp.2.pl. *ti-ya-at-ten* **1.C**$_a$ iii 14′ inf. *ti-ya-u-wa-an-zi* **1.B**$_b$:1′[(*appa*); **1.C**$_b$ iv 27′[
tekan n. "earth"	dat./loc.sg. *ták-ni-i* **1.D**$_c$ iv 20]
tešḫa- c. "sleep; dream"	acc.sg. Ù-*an* **3.A**$_a$ i 3[
tetani- c. "hair"	inst. *te-e-ta-ni-it* **1.D**$_c$ iv 24 *te-e-da-ni-it* **1.F**:10
tukkeš- "to be visible"	prs.3.sg. *tu-uk-ke-eš-zi* **1.F**:14′] *tu-uk-ki-iš-zi* **1.C**$_b$ iv 10′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 28]
tuliya- c. "assembly"	acc.sg. *tu-li-ya-an* **3.C** iv 17′[gen.sg. *tu-li-ya-aš* **1.D**$_a$ i 8′; **Ap2.2** iii 8′[all. *tu-li-ya* **3.C** iv 13′
tuppi- n. "tablet"	DUB.N.KAM **1.D**$_a$ iv colophon **; 3.A**$_b$ iv 1′; **3.D** iv 6′
dušk- "to rejoice"	prs.3.pl.iter. *du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi* **2.A**$_b$ iiu 9
uk ind.prn.1.	nom.sg. *am-mu-uk* **1.C**$_b$ iv 18′, 31′; **1.D**$_a$ i 10′; **1.D**$_c$ i 22′; **3.C** iii 5′; **3.D** iv 3′; **3.I**:3′ gen.sg. *am-me-el* **1.C**$_a$ iii 11′ gen. pl. *an-ze-el* **FB.1** i 24′, iv 12′ pl.acc. *an-za-a-aš* **1.H**:16′[
urki- c. "path, track"	acc.sg. *úr-ki-in* **1.D**$_g$ iii 21′
uttar n. "word; matter"	nom./acc.pl. *ud-da-a-ar* **Ap2.2** iii 5′ INIM.MEŠ **Ap2.1** i 4′ *A-WA-TE*^{MEŠ} **Ap2.1** i 6′
utne n. "land"	abl. KUR-*az* **3.C** ii 8 sg. KUR^{TUM} **3.C** ii 7 pl. KUR.KUR.MEŠ **1.A**$_a$ 1 10
utneyant- c. "populace"	nom.sg. KUR-*e-an-za* **2.A** obv. 8 KUR-*an-za* **Ap2.3** rev. 6′
uwa- "to come"	prs.1.sg. *ú-wa-mi* **FC.1** ii 5 (*appa*) prs.3.sg. *ú-iz-zi* **FA.2** iii 2′; **FC.1** ii 10 (*menaḫḫanda*) prs.3.pl. *ú-wa-an-zi* **3.F**:10′?; **FB.1** i 14′ prt.1.pl. *ú-wa-u-en* **2.A** obv. 2 prt.3.sg. *ú-it* **1.C** iii 10′[imp.2.sg. *e-ḫu* **FB.1** i 10′; **FC.5**:5′?
wakšur n. "span (measure)"	*wa-ak-šur* **1.A**$_a$ i 8[
walla- "to praise"	prs.1.sg. *wa-al-la-aḫ-ḫi* **1.A**$_a$ i 1[
walḫ- "to strike"	prs.1.sg. *wa-la-aḫ-mi* **1.D**$_c$ iv 19 prs.3.pl.iter. *wa-al-ḫi-iš-kán-zi* **1.C**$_b$ iv 25′ (*appa*)
-*wa*(*r*-) quotative particle	-*wa*(-) **1.A**$_c$ i 9′, 13′, 15′; **1.B**$_a$:5′; **1.B**$_b$:4′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 10′, 13′, 15′, 18′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 16′,

30′; **1.D**$_a$ i 9′; **1.D**$_c$ i 3′, 21′, 23′!, 24′, 29′, iv 6, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18; **1.D**$_d$ i 3′; **1.D**$_g$ ii 19′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 9′, 13′; **1.E**$_a$ ii 6′; **1.F**:2′; **1.G**:5′; **1.H**:10′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 3; **2.B** rev. 2′, 3′, 8′; **2.C** ii 10′; **3.A**$_a$ i 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 21, 22; **3.B** i 3′, iii 3′; **3.C** ii 5, 6, iii 5′, 9′, 10′, 15′, 16′, 17′, 18′; **3.D** iv 3′, 4′; **3.E**:6′; **3.G**:4′; **3.H**:3′; **FC.7**:3′; **FC.9**:5′; **Ap2.1** i 2′, 3′, 11′, iv 15′, 16′; **Ap2.2** iii 3′
-*wa-r°*- **1.D**$_g$ iii 17′; **1.H**:15′, 16′; **3.A**$_a$ i 12, 15!; **3.B** iii 4′, 5′, 6′; **3.G**:2′; **3.D** iv 2′; **Ap2.1** i 6′, 7′!

warḫunu- "to overrun (of plants)" prs.3.sg.iter. *wa-ar-ḫu-u-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi* **1.D**$_g$ iii 13′; **3.A**$_a$ i 7[

warnu- "to burn" prs.3.sg. *wa-ar-nu-uz-zi* **FB.1** i 11′[
prs.3.sg.iter. *wa-ar-nu-uš-ki-mi* **FC.1** ii 4[

waršiya- "to wipe away" *wa-ar-ši-ya-az-zi* **1.C**$_b$ iv 7′

waršula- c. "aroma; refreshment" acc.sg. *wa-ar-šu-la-an* **FB.1** i 12′, 13′
wa-ar-šu-la[**2.C** ii 3′[?

watar n. "water" gen.sg. *ú-e-te-na-aš* **3.C**$_b$ iii 16′[
A-*aš* **FB.1** i 12′!

wiya- "to cry, weep" prs.3.sg.iter. *ú-i-iš-ki-iz-zi* **1.C**$_b$ iv 12′
imp.2.sg.iter. *ú-iš-ki* **FC.1** ii 8

weḫ- "to turn (intr.); wander" prs.3.sg.iter. *ú-e-ḫe-eš-ki-iz-zi* **1.A**$_a$ i 10
prt.3.sg.iter. *ú-e-ḫi-iš-ki-it* **1.E**$_a$ ii 7′ (*anda*)
ú-e-ḫe-eš-ki-it **1.D**$_g$ ii 16′] (*anda*)
ú-e-ḫa[- **3.E**:1′

ḫwinal n. "staff, pole" nom./acc.pl. *ḫwi-na-la* **3.C** iii 22′!

weriya- "to find" prs.3.pl. *ú-e-ri-ya-an-zi* **Ap2.1** iv 8′[!

wešiya- "to graze; feed on" inf.iter. *ú-e-ši-ya-u-wa-an-zi* **1.A**$_b$ i 7′

wet- c. "year" dat./loc.sg. MU.KAM-*ti* **Ap2.1** iv 11′
sg. MU.N.KAM **Ap2.1** iv 7′
acc. pl. MU.KAM.ḪI.A-*uš* **3.I**:4′?
pl. MU.KAM.ḪI.A **FC.5** rev. 10′

wete- "to build" ppl.nom./acc.sg.n. *ú-e-da-an* **3.C** iv 9′

-*z* reflexive particle -*za*(-) **1.A**$_a$ i 11; **1.B**$_b$:4′; **1.C**$_a$ iii 18′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 18′, 28′, 30′, 31′, 34′; **1.D**$_a$ i 2′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 12; **1.D**$_d$ i 3′; **1.D**$_g$ ii 19′; **1.E**$_b$:7′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 6; **2.B** rev. 13′; **3.A**$_a$ i 3, 19, 20; **3.B** ii 6′; **3.E**:6′; **3.F**:1′, 3′, 4′; **3.H**:1′; **FB.1** i 9′, 10′, 15′; **FC.5** rev. 3′; **Ap2.1** iv 6′, 16′; **Ap2.2** iii 9′

zaḫḫai- c. "battle" abl. *za-aḫ-ḫa-<ya>-az* **1.C**$_b$ iv 19′

zai- "to cross" prs.3.sg. *za-a-i* **3.H**:2′]
prs.2.sg. *za-a-ši* **3.D** iv 1′
prs.2.sg.iter. *za-a-iš-ki-ši* **3.D** iv 2′
prt.3.sg.iter. *za-a-iš-ki-it* **3.C** ii 10

zainu- "to cause to cross" prt.3.pl.iter. *za-a-i-nu-uš-kir* **3.D** iv 4′]

zandanatar n. (meaning unknown) nom./acc.sg. *za-an-da-na-tar* **FB.1** iv 8′, 17′

zatra- c. (a substance?) acc.sg. *za-at-ra-an* **FB.1** i 3′
gen.sg. *za-at-ra-aš* **FB.1** iv 9′

zik ind.prn.2. nom.sg. *zi-ik* **1.B**$_b$:4′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 30′; **3.A**$_a$ i 15; **3.B** iii 3′; **3.C** iii 2′; **3.D** iv 1′, 2′
gen.sg. *tu-e-el* **1.G**:4′; **FC.**9:4′; **Ap2.2** iii 10′
tu-el **3.C** iii 9′
abl. *tu-e-ta-za* **3.A**$_a$ i 12

Sumerograms

A.ŠÀ “field” A.ŠÀ.MEŠ **Ap2.1** iv 3′
A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A **Ap2.1** iv 5′
A.ŠÀ A.GÀR.ḪI.A **FC.1** ii 7[

ALAM “image; statue” acc.sg. ALAM-*an* **1.A**$_a$ i 4, 5
ALAM **1.A**$_a$ i 7; **Ap2.1** i 10′; **FC.8**:5′; **FC.10**:3′
ALAM.NA$_4$ **3.D** iv 3′

^{GUD}AM “bull” **3.C** ii 11

ANŠE.KUR.RA “horse” acc.pl. ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A-*uš* **1.D**$_c$ iv 26
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*uš* **1.F**:12′]

ARAD “slave; servant” ARAD-*iš* **1.C** iv 23′

DANNA “league (measure)” **1.E**$_a$ iii 3′, 4′

DUMU “son” DUMU-*ŠU* **Ap2.1** i 5′, iv 10′

DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU “mortal” **1.D**$_g$ iii 15′]; **3.C** ii 10[

É.DINGIR^{LIM} “temple” **2.A**$_b$ ii 5; **3.B** iii 6′

EGIR.UD.KAM “future” **1.D**$_g$ ii 24′[; **1.E**$_b$:3′

^{GIŠ}ERIN “cedar” **1.C**$_a$ iii 12′; **1.D**$_d$ iv 3; **1.D**$_g$ iii 6′, 9′, 16′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 4, 7; **3.A**$_a$ i 7
$^{<GIŠ>}$ERIN.MEŠ **1.B**$_b$:5′

ÉRIN “troop(s)” nom.pl. ÉRIN.MEŠ-*uš* **3.E**:7′
ÉRIN.ḪI.A **1.E**$_b$:9′
ÉRIN.MEŠ **1.B**$_b$:5′; **2.C** ii 7′, 9′[

EZEN “feast; festival” acc.sg. EZEN-*an* **1.G**:7′
EZEN **Ap.2A** i 7′

GAB “breast” **1.A**$_a$ i 8

GIDIM “ghost; revenant” GIDIM.ḪI.A **3.A**$_a$ i 20[, 21[

GISKIM “sign; omen” abl. GISKIM-*az* **FC.6** rev. 4′

^{LÚ}GURUŠ “youth; warrior” nom. sg. ^{LÚ}GURUŠ-*an-za* **1.A**$_c$ i 7′[; **1.D**$_c$ i 20′[
dat./loc.sg. ^{LÚ}GURUŠ-*an-ti* **1.B**$_a$:4′

	nom.pl. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GURUŠ-*uš* **3.F**:6′
	^{LÚ}GURUŠ **1.D**$_c$ i 13′[
	$^{LÚ.MEŠ}$GURUŠ **1.A**$_a$ i 12[; **1.D**$_c$ i 3′[
GUŠKIN	**3.B** iii 10′
ḪUR.SAG “mountain”	ḪUR.SAG **3.C** ii 4
	ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ **1.D**$_g$ iii 4′, 5′; **2.A**$_a$ i 1]; **3.A**$_a$ i 7; **3.C** ii 8, 9, 14
	ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*uš* **1.D**$_g$ iii 12′, 13′
	dat./loc. ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*aš* **1.C**$_a$ iii 11′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 39′]$^?$; **1.D**$_c$ iv 7, 16; **1.D**$_g$ iii 17′
	ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*ša* **1.C**$_b$:6′
	ḪUR.SAG[**2.A**$_b$ ii 2; **3.C** ii 12
IM “wind”	IM.MEŠ-*aš* **1.A**$_a$ i 14$^!$; **1.C**$_b$ iv 24′; **1.D**$_a$ i 4′
	IM.MEŠ-*uš* **1.C**$_b$ iv 21′[
IM.GAL “South Wind”	**1.C**$_b$ iv 22′
KÁ.GAL^{TIM}	“city gate” **2.A**$_b$ ii 5
^{MUNUS}KAR.KID “prostitute”	**1.A**$_d$ i 3′, 6′
KARAŠ “army”	pl. KARAŠ.ḪI.A **1.E**$_b$:5′
KÙ.BABBAR “silver”	**2.B** rev. 9′
^{GIŠ}KUN$_5$ “ladder”	acc.pl. ^{GIŠ}KUN$_5$.ḪI.A-*uš* **FB.1** i 17′
LÚ ^{GIŠ}MÁ “boatman”	**3.H**:5′
^{GIŠ}MÁ “boat”	**3.C** iii 24′, 25′; **3.H**:5′, 8′
MAḪ “exalted”	**FA.2** iii 5′
^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA “wagon”	pl. ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA.MEŠ **Ap2.1** iv 15′
MUNUS “woman”	nom.sg. MUNUS-*za* **3.F**:6′
	MUNUS-*aš* **3.C** ii 6
MUŠEN “bird”	nom.sg. MUŠEN-*iš* **3.C** ii 15
^{LÚ}NAR “singer”	**1.H**:5′
NINDA “bread”	NINDA-*aš* **FB.1** i 13′
NU.TIL “unfinished”	**1.D**$_a$ colophon; **3.D** colophon
NUNDUM “river bank”	dat./loc.sg. NUNDUM-*ši* **1.D**$_g$ iii 2′; **1.E**$_a$ iii 5′
PA$_5$ “canal”	PA$_5$.ḪI.A-*uš* **3.A**$_a$ i 18
	PA$_5$.ḪI.A **1.D**$_c$ iv 31[
	˹PA$_5$.ḪI.A **1.C**$_b$ iv 14′[
SAḪAR “dust”	nom.pl. SAḪAR.ḪI.A-*uš* **1.D**$_c$ iv 27; **1.C**$_b$:8′
	abl. SAḪAR.ḪI.A-*az* **1.D**$_c$ i 23′
SILA$_4$ “lamb”	acc.sg. SILA$_4$-*an* **FB.1** iv 2′; **FB.2**:7′
SÌR “song”	**3.A**$_b$ iv 2′

SÍSKUR "offering"	**1.D**$_g$ iii 3′
^{LÚ}SUKKAL "vizier"	acc.sg. ^{LÚ}SUKKAL-*an* **3.A**$_b$ ii 3
ŠÀ "(with)in"	**1.D**$_g$ iii 4′, 5′; **3.C** ii 12, 14
ŠÚ.A c. "throne"	acc.sg. ŠÚ.A-*an* **1.C**$_b$ iv 9′[
^{MUNUS}TIN.NA "barmaid"	**3.B** iii 9′; **3.G**:3′]
TÚG.NÍG.LÁM.MEŠ "formal garments"	**1.D**$_f$ ii 5′]; **2.A**$_b$ ii 11
UR.MAḪ "lion"	pl. UR.MAḪ.MEŠ **3.C** ii 13
UZU.YÀ "fat"	**FB.1** i 22′
^{NA_4}ZA.GÌN "lapis lazuli"	**2.B** rev. 11′]

Akkadograms

AMMATU "yard (measure)"	*AM-MA-TU*$_4$ **1.A**$_a$ i 8
ANA "to"	*A-NA* **1.B**$_a$:7′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 15′, 18′, 21′, 29′, 35′; **1.D**$_c$ i 14′, 19′, 27′; **1.D**$_g$ ii 14′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 2, 3, 7; **2.B** rev. 1′, 12′, 14′; **3.A**$_a$ i 2, 5, 14, 17, 19, 20; **3.A**$_b$ ii 1; **3.B** iii 8′, 9′; **3.C** iii 3′, 13′, 24′, 25′; **3.I**:2′, 4′; **Ap2.1** i 5′, 7′, iv 10′
^{IM}*ANḪULLU* "Destructive Wind"	^{IM}*AN-ḪU-UL-LU* **1.C**$_b$ iv 24′
^{KUŠ}*ARĪTU* "shield"	^{KUŠ}*A-RI-TU*$_4^{HLA}$ **Ap2.1** iv 19′]
^{IM}*AŠAMŠŪTU* "Storm Wind"	^{IM}*A-ŠA-AM-ŠU-TU* **1.C**$_b$ iv 23′[
^{IM}*ILTANU* "North Wind"	^{IM}*EL-TA-NU* **1.C**$_b$ iv 22′
INA "in"	*I-NA* **1.C**$_b$ iv 16′; **1.D**$_g$ ii 24′, iii 2′; **1.G**:3′; **3.B** iii 5′; **3.C** ii 4; **FC.10**:4′
IŠTU "from; with"	*IŠ-TU* **1.D**$_g$ iii 18′; **1.G**:3′; **2.A**$_a$ i 2; **2.B** rev. 9′; **2.C** ii 8′; **3.A**$_a$ i 7; **3.C** iii 12′; **FB.1** i 17′
ITTI "with"	*IT-TI* **3.F**:10′
NAMṢĪTU "vat"	*NAM-SÍ-TU*$_4$ **3.B** iii 10′
QATÛ "to be complete"	stat.3.sg. *QA-TI* **Ap2.2** iii 11′
^{LÚ}*ṢĀIDU* "hunter"	^{LÚ}*ṢA-I-DU* **1.A**$_d$ i 2′
ŠA "of"	**1.A**$_a$ i 12; **1.C**$_b$ iv 13′, 20′; **1.D**$_a$ i 2′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 30′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 8′, 9′, 16′; **1.J**:1′$^?$; **2.A**$_a$ i 2′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 5; **3.A**$_a$ i 21; **3.B** iii 6′, 10′; **3.C** iii 19′, 20′, 22′, 28′; **Ap2.1** i 4′
^{IM}*ŠURUPPÛ* "Freezing Wind"	^{IM}*ŠU-RU-UP-PU-U* **1.C**$_b$ iv 23′
UMMA "thus says"	*UM-MA* **3.C** iii 6′; **3.D** iv 3′, 5′; **3.G**:3′[$^?$
^{IM}*ZIQZIQU* "Galeforce Wind"	^{IM}*ZI-IQ-ZI-QÚ* **1.C**$_b$ iv 23′
ZŪTU "sweat"	*ZU-U-TÙ* **1.F**:11

Numerals

1	nom. 1-*aš* **3.H**:1′ acc. 1-*an* **FB.1** i 18′ dat./loc. 1-*e-da-ni* **FC.5** rev. 6′ abl. 1-*e-da-az* **2.A**$_b$ ii 5
2	**3.C** ii 13; **3.B** iii 3′, 4′; **3.D** iv 3′; **FC.10**:3′ 2-*e-lu-uš* **3.C** iii 25′
3	**1.A**$_a$ i 9
5	5-*an* **FB.1** iv 8′
6	6-*an* **FB.1** iv 17′?
8	**1.C**$_b$ iv 24′
9	**1.A**$_a$ i 8
11	**1.A**$_a$ i 8
15	**3.C** iii 28′
16	**1.D**$_g$ iii 4′]?; **1.E** iii 7′]?
20	**1.E** iii 3′]
40	**3.C** iii 19′
50	**3.C** iii 19′, 22′
400	4 *ME* **FC.5** rev. 10′

Names of Personages

^{GUD}*Alu-* Bull (of Heaven)	nom. ^{GUD}*A-lu-uš* **2.C** ii 10′ acc. ^{GUD}*A-lu-ú-un* **3.A**$_a$ i 6, 13 ^{GUD}*A-lu-un* **3.B** i 6′]
Anu	nom. ^{d}*A-nu-uš* **3.A**$_a$ i 4, 5, 8
^{d}Aruna	nom. ^{d}*A-ru-na-aš* **3.E**:8′]
^{m}Atramḫasi(s) / Watara-hasis	nom. ^{m}*At-ra-am-ḫa-ši-iš* **Ap2.1** iv 2′, 18′ ^{m}*Wa-tar-ra-ḫa-ši-iš* **Ap2.3** rev. 9′ stem form ^{m}*At-ra-am-ḫa-ši* **Ap2.1** i 5′, iv 10′
DINGIR.MAḪ Mother-goddess	nom. DINGIR.MAḪ-*aš* **1.A**$_b$ i 2′[; **1.D**$_a$ i 5′ DINGIR.MAḪ **1.A**$_a$ i 13
^{d}É.A	**1.A**$_a$ i 3[?; **3.A**$_a$ i 5 nom. ^{d}É.A-*aš* **3.A**$_a$ i 4
^{d}Enkidu	nom. ^{d}*En-ki-du-uš* **1.D**$_c$ i 7′[, 10′, 30′]; **1.D**$_f$ ii 3′]!, 4′; **FC.9**:1′[?

^{d}*En-ki-du-ša*(-) **1.D**$_c$ i 12′],
^{d}*En-ki-du$_4$-uš* **1.B**$_a$:8′]; **1.C**$_a$ 19′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 35′; **1.D**$_c$ iv 13[; **1.D**$_g$ ii 10′; **1.E**$_a$ ii 8′; **1.G**:1′[; **1.H**:9′; **2.A**$_b$ ii 10]; **3.A**$_a$ i 2, 9, 14; **3.B** i 7′; **3.I**:3′; **FC.3**:1′
^{d}*En-ki-ta-aš* **1.A**$_b$ i 5′
acc. ^{d}*En-ki-du-un* **1.D**$_c$ i 6′[
^{d}*En-ki-du$_4$-na* **1.D**$_g$ ii 11′
^{d}*En-ki-ta-an* **1.A**$_b$ i 4′
stem form ^{d}*En-ki-du$_4$* **1.D**$_d$ i 2′; **1.E**$_a$ ii 5′
^{d}*En-ki-du* **1.D**$_g$ ii 14′
^{d}*En-ki-*[**1.D**$_c$ iv 14; **1.H**:19′
^{d}*En-*[**1.C** iii 20′; **3.A**$_a$ i 16

^{d}EN.LÍL
nom. ^{d}EN.LÍL-*aš* **3.A**$_a$ i 4, 9, 14
^{d}EN.LÍL **2.A**$_b$ ii 3[, 5; **3.A**$_a$ i 11; **Ap2.2** iii 4′

^{d}Gilgameš
nom. ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*uš* **1.D**$_a$ i 4′; **1.D**$_c$ i 27′; **1.D**$_d$ iv 1$^{!}$; **1.D**$_g$ ii 10′, 11′, iii 11′; **1.E**$_a$ ii 1′, 2′, iii 2′[; **2.A**$_b$ ii 10; **2.B** rev. 14′; **2.C** ii 6′[$^{?}$; **3.A**$_a$ i 10; **3.A**$_b$ ii 1; **3.C** iii 7′$^{?}$, 20′, 26′, 27′[; **3.E**:4′; **3.H**:2′[; **3.I**:1′; **FA.1**:2′
^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*aš* **1.A**$_a$ i 14; **1.C**$_b$ iv 15′; **FC.5** rev. 2′
acc. ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-*un* **1.A**$_a$ i 1[, 4, 5; **1.D**$_c$ i 2′$^{!}$; **3.E**:8′; **FC.2**:1′, 2′
stem form ^{d}GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ **1.B**$_a$:7′$^{!}$; **1.B**$_b$:3′; **1.C**$_a$ ii 9′, iii 5′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 20′, 29′, 30′; **1.E**$_b$:5′; **2.B** rev. 6′], 7′[, 12′, 13′]; **3.A**$_a$ i 2, 17; **3.A**$_b$ iv 2′; **3.C** iii 13′[, 15′, iv 7′; **3.D** iv 4′; **FA.1**:7′$^{?}$; **FA.2** iii 5′$^{?}$
^{d}GIŠ.GIM[. **1.A**$_c$ i 15′; **1.B**$_a$:3′, 9′
nom. ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*uš* **1.C**$_a$ iii 21′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 10′; **3.B** iii 7′; **3.C** ii 3, 7, 14;]; **FB.1** iv 13′; **FC.3**:1′
acc. ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ-*un* **1.A**$_a$ i 7
stem form ^{d}GIŠ.PAN.MAŠ **1.H**:6′; **FB.1** iv 14′
^{d}GIŠ[. **3.B** ii 3′

^{m}Ḫamša
nom. ^{m}*Ḫa-am-ša-aš* **Ap2.1** i 4′, iv 2′[, 10′, 18′
acc. ^{m}*Ḫa-am-ša-an* **Ap2.1** i 11′

^{d}Ḫuwawa
nom. ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa-iš* **1.C**$_a$ iii 9′; **1.C**$_b$ iv 28′, 29′, 36′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 7′]; **1.H**:13′
acc. ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa-an* **1.E**$_b$:10′
^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa-in* **1.C**$_a$ iii 22′, 30′[; **1.D**$_g$ ii 21′]; **1.F**:5′; **3.A**$_a$ i 13
stem form ^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa* **1.C**$_b$ iv 21′; **1.D**$_g$ iii 19′; **1.F**:10′$^{!}$]; **2.A**$_a$ i 2; **FC.7**:2′
^{d}*Ḫu-wa-wa*[(-) **1.D**$_c$ iv 15; **1.D**$_g$ iii 28′
^{d}*Ḫu-wa*[- **1.D**$_c$ iv 23; **3.A**$_a$ i 6; **3.F**:7′

^{d}Impaluri
^{d}*Im-pa-lu-ri* **FA.2** iii 1′[

Ibizzi (scribe)
^{m}*I-bi-iz-zi* **1.D**$_c$ LeE

^{d}*IŠTAR*
2.B rev. 1′
nom. ^{d}*IŠTAR-iš* **FB.2**:5′

^{d}*Kat*[-
FB.1 iv 7′

^{d}Gulšeš Fate-goddesses
nom.pl. ^{d}*Gul-še-eš* **FC.2**:4′[
acc.pl. ^{d}*Gul-šu-uš* **3.E**:9′

^{d}Kumarbi	nom. ^{d}*Ku-mar-bi-iš* **Ap2.1** iv 11′ stem form ^{d}*Ku-mar-bi* **Ap2.1** i 4′ ^{d}*Ku-mar-bi*[(-) **FB.1** iv 15′; **Ap2.1** iv 7′
^{f}Naḫmizuli	acc. ^{f}*Na-aḫ-mi-zu-le-en* **3.F**:3′ frag. **FA.2** iii 7′]$^{?}$
^{d}Nusku	nom. ^{d}*Nu-uš-qa-aš* **Ap2.2** iii 5′
^{f}Siduri	nom. ^{f}*Sí-du-ri-iš* **3.B** iii 9′ ^{f}*Sí-du-ri* **FC.8**:4′
^{f}Šanḫatu	^{f}*Ša-an-ḫa-tu* **1.B**$_{a}$:2′[
^{m}Šangašu	nom. ^{m}*Ša-an-ga-šu-uš* **1.A**$_{c}$ i 6′; **1.A**$_{d}$ i 6′]; **1.D**$_{c}$ i 13′
^{d}Sîn Moon-god	nom. ^{d}XXX-*aš* **3.B** iii 2′ ^{d}XXX **3.B** iii 6
^{d}Šušḫaru/iwa	nom. ^{d}*Šu-uš-ḫa-ru-wa-aš* **FB.1** iv 4′ ^{d}*Šu-uš-ḫa-ri*[- **FB.2**′
^{d}U Storm-god	^{d}U-*aš* **1.A**$_{a}$ i 6
^{d}UTU Sun-god	nom. ^{d}UTU-*uš* **FB.1** iv 6′ dat. ^{d}UTU-*i* **FC.1** ii 4 ^{d}UTU *ŠA-ME-E* **1.A**$_{a}$ i 5; **1.C**$_{a}$ iii 14′; **1.C**$_{b}$ iv 11′, 13′, 16′, 18′; **1.D**$_{c}$ iv 29; **FC.4**:8′[$^{?}$ ^{d}UTU AN^{E} **3.A**$_{a}$ i 4, 11, 14; **3.H**:1′
^{m}Ullu(ya)	nom. ^{d}*Ul-lu-uš* **3.C** iv 16′ stem form ^{d}*Ul-lu-ya* **FB.1** i 7′, 19′, 20′, iv 10′ ^{d}*Ul-lu* **FB.1** iv 11′ ^{d}*Ul-lu*[(-) **FB.2**:10′
^{m}Uršanabi	nom. ^{m}*Ur-ša-na-bi-iš* **3.C** iii 13′, 26′; **3.G**:5′ acc.]-*ša-na-bi-in* **FA.1**:6′ stem form ^{m}*U-ur-ša-na-bi* **3.C** iii 3′[, 20′[^{m}*Ur-ša-na-bi* **3.D** iv 3′
^{m}Utanapišta	^{m}*Ú-da-na-pí-iš-ta*[- **3.G**:5′

Place Names

^{URU}*A-r*[*i-*	**FC.10**:2′
^{URU}Ittiḫa	^{URU}*It-ti-ḫa* **3.C** ii 1
^{URU}Itla	nom. ^{URU}*It-la-aš* **FB.1** i 26′ abl. ^{URU}*I-it-la-az* **FB.1** i 16′[$^{?}$ ^{URU}*I-it-la* **FB.1** i 8′
^{ÍD}Mala	^{ÍD}*Ma-la-a* **2.A**$_{b}$ ii 7 ^{ÍD}*Ma-la* **1.D**$_{g}$ iii 2′

Uruk ^URU^*U-ra-ga* **1.A**$_a$ i 11], 12; **1.C**$_a$ ii 2′]
^URU^*U-ru-ga* **1.D**$_a$ i 1′[
gentilic acc.pl. ^URU^*U-RU-KUM-ni-<uš>* **FC.1** ii 7